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ROGER WILLIAMS.

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ROGER WILLIAMS was born about A.D. 1600, probably in Wales. Through the influence of Sir Edward Coke, the famous jurist, long his patron, he became a scholar of Sutton's Hospital (now the Charter House) in 1621, where he obtained an exhibition in 1624. The following year he became a pensioner in Pembroke College, Cambridge, and was graduated in 1627. He is said to have been an expert reporter, and to have made himself useful to his great patron through the employment of this art. There is an old tradition, probable enough in itself, that he devoted considerable attention to the study of law. Whether during, before, or after his university course, he was led to adopt rigorous Separatist principles. The England of 1630 was no place for Nonconformists of even a more moderate type than young Roger Williams. In December of that year he set sail for New England, hoping there to be permitted to enjoy a measure of soul-liberty denied him at home. "Truly it was as bitter as death to me," he writes, some years later to the daughter of Sir Edward Coke, "when Bishop Laud pursued me out of this land, and my conscience was persuaded against the national church, and ceremonies, beyond the conscience of your dear father. I say it was as bitter as death to me, when I rode Windsor way, to take ship at Bristol and saw Stoke House, where the blessed man was, and I then durst not acquaint him with my conscience and my flight."

There can be no doubt but that he made a great sacrifice, not in sentiment alone, but in position and prospects as well, in loyally following the dictates of conscience. "God knows," he wrote, forty years afterward, "what gains and preferments I have refused in universities, city, country, and court in Old England, and something in

New England, to keep my soul undefiled in this point, and not to act with a doubting conscience." Roger Williams was not only one of the most accomplished scholars of his age (he was familiar with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Dutch and French languages), but he had a dignity of bearing, an eloquence and persuasiveness of tongue and pen, and a force of character, that would have commanded for him the highest positions at home or abroad. Like the great apostle, he counted not such things dear unto him in comparison with loyalty to conscience and to Christ.

Landing in New England in February, 1631, a highly attractive opening almost immediately presented itself. The pastor of the Boston church was returning to England for a prolonged visit, and young Williams was invited to supply his place. Did he accept the invitation? Far from it. The Boston church was "an unseparated church," and he "durst not officiate to" it. With him conscience was absolutely supreme, because it represented God's will. He was prompted to give utterance, while at Boston, to a conviction formed, no doubt, long before, familiar and commonplace now, startling and revolutionary then and there, that the magistrate might not punish any sort of "breach of the first table," such as idolatry, Sabbath-breaking, false worship, blasphemy, etc.; and he had thus succeeded in convincing the leading men of the Boston colony that he was an impracticable and dangerous man—all the more dangerous because of his splendid gifts and attainments and his unswerving loyalty to conscience. It was only what might have been expected, when the Salem church a few months later invited him to be their teacher, that six of the leading men of Boston should have sent a joint letter of warning to Governor Endicott of

Salem. For the time being they succeeded in "heading him off," and he soon afterward betook himself to the older and more thoroughly Separatist Plymouth colony, where he was cordially received and soon became associated as teacher with Ralph Smith, pastor of the church. Here he remained for about two years. According to Governor Bradford, "his teaching was well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless God, and am thankful to him, even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth." According to Brewster, elder of the church, toward the close of the period Roger Williams began to "vent" "divers of his own singular opinions," and to seek "to impose them upon others." The more conservative among the members began to foresee "that he would run the same course of rigid separatism and anabaptistry which Mr. John Smith, the Sebaptist at Amsterdam, had done." "Not finding such concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismission to the church of Salem," which with considerable reluctance on the part of some was granted. It is certain that the influential people at Boston were steadily using their influence against him and fostering any spirit of dissatisfaction that may have arisen.

During his stay at Plymouth he spent much time with the Indians, and succeeded in so far mastering their language as to be able to converse freely with them, and afterward to write the "Key into the Language of America," and in so gaining their confidence and love as to be of incalculable service to all the colonies long after he had been banished from Massachusetts. "My soul's desire," he wrote some time afterward, "was to do the natives good. God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, even when I lived at Plymouth and Salem, to gain their tongue." So great was his influence over them, that if he had been bent on making mere nominal Christians of them, he could, he thought, have baptized whole tribes of them.

In August, 1634, he was invited to succeed Skelton in the pastorate of the Salem church, having since his arrival acted as assistant to the enfeebled pastor. The Boston people remonstrated, as we shall see, and a struggle ensued that led to his banishment in the midst of winter—January, 1636. Befriended by the Indians, after much hardship, he reached Narragansett Bay. Here he secured land from the Indians and established a colony on the

principles of absolute liberty of conscience. Here and on his visits to England he wrote those great works in defence of these principles, that along with his practical carrying out of these principles have won for him undying fame. Here, also, he died and was buried in 1683, having more than completed fourscore years.

Pause we here to take a rapid survey of contemporary history before we proceed to a special discussion of some of the more prominent events in his New England life, and some of the more important features of his teaching. The first thirty years of Roger Williams's manhood coincided with the most momentous period in modern times. The Continent of Europe was convulsed with the most destructive war of history, from one point of view a great struggle between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism for ascendancy. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648, is one of the landmarks of history. The Puritan Revolution, that great conflict between royal and priestly absolutism and the spirit of civil and religious liberty, that was inherent in the British people, and that had by 1640 gained momentum enough to sweep away for the time kingcraft and priestcraft together by one fell stroke, may be said to have begun in 1628, three years before Roger Williams sailed for America, and continued during most of his manhood years. For two or three years he was contemporary at Cambridge with John Milton, somewhat his junior. Though not members of the same college they may have known each other at this time, as they certainly did some twenty years later, when both were startling the world with eloquent radical pleas for freedom. "The Secretary of the Council, Mr. Milton, for my Dutch I read him, read me many more languages," wrote Williams, after his visit to England in 1651. Here also he may have known Henry Jessey and Hanserd Knollys, soon to become the able leaders of the English Baptists. The Duke of Buckingham, the power behind the throne during the later years of James and the earlier years of Charles I., had become so odious to the people that there was general rejoicing when his career was brought to an end by Felton's knife, August, 1628. It is not likely that either Williams or Milton shed many tears over this event, however little they approved of the means by which Buckingham's unrighteous career was brought to an end. William Laud, the typical High Churchman, who combined in his own person some of the best and some of the worst features of a Wolsey, a

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Mazarin, and a Torquemada, was already beginning to rival Buckingham in the confidence of the king, and was placed by the assassination of the latter at the head of civil and ecclesiastical administration. The "reign of thorough" ensued. The Star Chamber reminded the persecuted Nonconformists of the Spanish Inquisition. Laud had eyes to spy out heresy from one end of the kingdom to the other. Imprisonment, whipping, branding, mutilation, to say nothing of the imposition of ruinous fines, were the order of the day. The king and his ministers decided to dispense with the services of Parliament and to establish a despotism. The Civil War, the Commonwealth, the Protectorate, and the Restoration, all came well within the active lifetime of Roger Williams. In France the provisions of the Edict of Nantes in favor of the Protestants were being systematically violated, and Richelieu, while for political reasons he was giving aid to the Protestants of Germany and Sweden, was employing the resources of the kingdom to crush the Huguenots.

In 1614 Leonard Busher, a Baptist—probably a member of the noble band that had returned to England from Holland two years before for conscience' sake—addressed to King James an earnest, able plea for liberty of conscience, to be followed a year later by "Persecution for Religion Judged and Condemned," and in 1620 by "A Most Humble Supplication" emanating from the same circle of believers. Though Roger Williams was still a youth when the last of these documents appeared, it is probable that they exerted a determining influence on his life. He certainly became familiar with them at an early date in his New England career, and he reprinted the last-mentioned writing in his "Bloody Tenent." His own pleas are more vigorous than these, but not more scriptural or sound. While Williams was yet a boy, in 1616, Henry Jacob, an earnest Separatist, had returned to England with his congregation that had been formed in Zeeland, and this congregation maintained itself in London, in the face of direct persecution, until long after Williams's departure. From 1633 onward it became famous as the mother of Particular Baptist churches. Another band of English exiles, that had spent years in Leyden under the ministry of the famous John Robinson, had been conveyed by the Mayflower to Plymouth Rock in 1620. During the eleven years that intervened between their arrival and that of Roger Williams, they had willingly endured great hardship

for the sake of the freedom of conscience that was theirs in the wilderness. Robinson had taught them not only to love freedom for themselves, but also to accord a measure of toleration to others. In his tender farewell address he warned them against supposing that they had reached final views of divine truth, and encouraged them to expect that new light would yet dawn on God's Word. We shall see that even in Roger Williams's time the colony had retained the impress of John Robinson. At Salem a company of English Nonconformists, uncompromisingly opposed to Separatism, had settled a few years later and completed its organization in 1629. "We will not say," they wrote, "as the Separatists were wont to say, Farewell, Babylon! Farewell, Rome! but we will say, Farewell, dear England! Farewell to the Church of God in England, and all the Christian friends there! We do not go to New England as Separatists from the Church of England; though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it, but we go to practice the positive part of Church reformation, and propagate the Gospel in America." At first the Salem colonists looked askance at the Plymouth people as Brownists, but Providence soon drew the two colonies together. An epidemic of fever and scurvy of a virulent type attacked the Salem settlers, and they felt obliged to send to Plymouth for a doctor. Dr. Fuller was not only a healer of bodies, but had skill with souls as well. The Salem people became convinced through his ministrations that the Plymouth settlers were not by any means so objectionable as they had been led to suppose. The two colonies were soon in cordial fellowship. Far more numerous and wealthy, and far more remote from Separatism, was the Massachusetts Bay colony, formed in 1630. In leaving England they asked for the prayers of their "brethren in and of the Church of England." They wished to be thought of as those who "esteemed it their honor to call the Church of England, from whence they rose, their dear mother, and could not part from their native country where she specially resided, without much sadness of heart and many tears in their eyes; ever acknowledging that such hope and part as they had obtained in the common salvation they had received in her bosom and sucked it from her breasts. They leave it not, therefore, as loathing the milk wherewith they were nourished there." One is tempted to suspect that this fulsomeness of compliment was dictated quite as much by policy

as by genuine emotion ; for nothing is more certain than that the leaders of the colony abominated from the bottom of their hearts the then dominant party in the Church of England ; it is a matter of history that they refused to tolerate Church of England services in the colony, and it is just as clear that they were anxious to secure as advantageous a charter as possible from a government intensely hostile to Nonconformity. Under the influence of the Plymouth people the Salem church was soon so imbued with Separatism, that the pastor refused to admit to communion leading members of the Massachusetts Bay colony, and declined to baptize the infant of one of them, because they were not as yet members of any particular church apart from the Church of England. It is wonderful how soon the colony repudiated in effect the Church of England, and proceeded to complete its semi-Presbyterian theocratic form of government. Roger Williams arrived at Boston about one year after the colony had been established. The next year (1632) it was enacted, that "to the end that the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men . . . for the time to come no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limit of the same." Exclusion from a church meant loss of citizenship, and the General Court was ready to carry out by force ecclesiastical decisions. We can scarcely conceive of a more perfect equipment for the exercise of tyranny and the violation of conscience than existed in this small community thus organized, where the life of each individual was constantly subjected to the closest scrutiny. That this legislation was not a dead letter on the statute book we shall soon see.

It need scarcely be said that the idea of liberty of conscience, though it had been ably advocated in England for nearly twenty years, had not dawned upon the minds of the leaders of the Boston company. If anybody felt impelled to teach or practice anything at variance with the teachings and practices of the standing order, the world was wide and there was room enough outside the jurisdiction of the company, inside he could not remain.

It must be admitted that men of convictions and conscience are not always the most agreeable members of society. The man who concentrates his attention on one or two matters that seem to his contemporaries matters of minor moment, and advocates his peculiar views in such a way as to cause division and to bring the com-

munity into bad repute, can scarcely expect to be cordially treated in any age or in any land. The man who is travelling in spirit with a great revolutionary idea is likely to do less than justice to other ideas and to existing institutions, and to act without regard to immediate consequences. Roger Williams was a man of profound convictions on a particular class of subjects. To us the importance of the matters upon which he fixed his attention is manifest ; but we are forced to admit that he was often extreme and inconsiderate in the pressing of his convictions. The necessity of the absolute separation of Church and State, the necessity of complete separation from an apostate Church, the vast importance of liberty of conscience and the utter iniquity of violation of conscience, had burned themselves into his soul. We can do him full honor for his consistent advocacy of these principles in season and out of season, for his dinning these principles into the ears of his contemporaries till they were forced to hear, without being unduly severe in our judgment of his opponents and persecutors.

Let us look more particularly at the points in which he came in conflict with the standing order :

1. He was an ardent Separatist, regarding the Church of England as utterly apostate, and considering it a sin to have any sort of communion with it, a sin so grievous as to place those who were guilty of it, or those who had fellowship with those guilty of it, outside the pale of his fellowship. This view he remorselessly pressed from the date of his arrival to the time of his expulsion, at great self-sacrifice and to the unspeakable discomfort of those who did not see eye to eye with him in this matter.

2. He was radically and unalterably opposed to the charter of the company, and regarded the colony as committing an enormous sin in living under it. He insisted on having it returned to King Charles without delay. In his opinion it contained "matter of falsehood and injustice, falsehood in making the king the first Christian prince who had discovered these parts ; and injustice in giving the country to his English subjects, which belonged to the native Indians." According to his own account of the matter written some years later, he and others, "not a few," were convinced of "the sin of the patents, wherein Christian kings (so-called) are invested with right, by virtue of their Christianity, to take and give away the lands of other men ; as also the unchristian oaths swallowed down at

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their coming forth from Old England, especially in superstitious Laud's time, and domineering. And I know these thoughts so deeply afflicted the soul of the discussor in the time of his walking in the way of New England's worship, that he at last came to a persuasion, that such sins could not be expiated without returning again into England, or a public acknowledgment and confession of the evil of so and so departing. To this purpose, before his troubles and banishment, he drew up a letter (not without the approbation of some of the chief of New England, then tender also upon this point before God) directed unto the king himself, humbly acknowledging the evil of that part of the patent which respects the donation of land, etc. This letter and other endeavors (tending to wash off public sins and, above all, to pacify and give glory unto God), it may be that counsels from flesh and blood suppressed." From Governor Winthrop's account it appears that Williams charged King James with blasphemy for calling Europe Christendom, and applied to King Charles some of the most opprobrious passages in the Apocalypse. To this, among other causes, he attributed his banishment. When we reflect upon the extreme danger in which the colony stood from unfriendly interference on the part of the home government, it is easy to realize the consternation into which the utterance of such sentiments, and especially the proposal to write the king setting forth the iniquity of the patent, must have thrown the responsible leaders of the colony. The ordinary arguments by which the appropriation of the land of savage peoples is still defended were used in vain on Roger Williams. The representation of the fearful peril to which he was exposing the colony made no impression whatever upon him. Conscience was uttering its voice, and it should not in him, at least, go unheeded.

3. Equally strong and unalterable were his convictions against the administration of oaths to the unregenerate, and the inviting of such to join in prayer or any act of worship. To protect itself against disloyal persons, who were likely to cause disharmony in the colony and to send slanderous and injurious reports to England, it was decided soon after Williams's arrival to administer an oath of fidelity to the people indiscriminately. Most vehemently did he oppose the oath, "partly," according to John Cotton, "because it was Christ's prerogative to have His office established by oath; partly because an oath was a part of

God's worship, and God's worship was not to be put upon carnal persons, as he conceived many of the people to be." "So by his tenet," Cotton proceeds, "neither might church-members nor other godly men take the oath, because it was the establishment not of Christ, but of mortal men in their office; nor might men out of the Church take it, because in his eye they were but carnal." Such sturdy opposition to a favorite measure did not tend, to any appreciable extent, to re-establish Roger Williams in the good graces of the court, especially as that self-respecting body felt itself obliged thereby "to desist from that proceeding."

4. But the immediate and probably the most influential causes of Roger Williams's banishment, were his defiant attitude toward the court and the leading churches of the colony, in accepting the pastorate of the Salem church against their earnest and oft-repeated protest; and the proceedings of the Salem church under his direction with reference to a certain piece of land. The Salem church and colony petitioned the court for a tract of land near Marblehead, to which they considered themselves entitled. What more natural than that the court should make its favorable action conditional on the church's making amends for their insolent conduct in installing Williams against the remonstrance of court and ministers. "We will wait," wrote the magistrates, "before giving answer to your request, until there shall be time to test more fully the quality of your allegiance to the power, which you desire should be interposed on your behalf." The court thus said, in effect, "Get rid of that pestilential Roger Williams without delay, and we will reward your subserviency by bestowing on you the coveted acres." It was an outrageous attempt to influence church action by a bribe; but it is a mode of procedure of which modern examples could doubtless be found in all denominations of Christians. Do we wonder that Williams and the Salem church were thoroughly indignant? Wisely or unwisely, they framed a red-hot denunciation of the proceeding and sent it to the other churches, admonishing them of the heinous sin of which their members, the magistrates, had been guilty. It will be remembered that citizenship, and, of course, the right to hold office, was dependent on church-membership. The aim of the Salem church, under Roger Williams's guidance, would seem to have been to induce the churches to compel the magistrates by disciplinary means to deal righteously or to depose them from office by excluding

them from membership. Roger Williams has been charged with inconsistency in being a party to such an admonition; but it is not clear why the Salem church was not justified, in view of the relation that existed, in appealing to sister churches to discipline members that had committed grievous wrong. It was not against magistrates as such, but against offending church-members that the complaint was uttered. But, however justifiable the procedure may have been, it was certainly in the highest degree impolitic. The churches and magistrates were irritated thereby beyond measure, and proceeded to labor so vigorously with the offending church as to induce a majority to abandon their heroic pastor and consent to his removal. Roger Williams, on his part, was led to denounce in scathing language the Massachusetts churches and to renounce communion with them. Moreover, he would have no further fellowship with the Salem church unless they would join him in his denunciation and disfellowshipping of the other churches. A majority of the members refusing so to do, he never entered the church again, but held services in his own house with such as were faithful to his principles.

The decision to banish Roger Williams was not hastily arrived at. Indeed, if we bear in mind the court's freedom from conscientious scruples as to the employment of force in matters of religion, and the pertinacity with which Roger Williams advocated views regarded as unsettling and dangerous, we can scarcely fail to admire the forbearance of this body. The process, or rather processes, that resulted in banishment began over a year before the banishment took place. In December, 1634, he was summoned to appear before the next session of the court, to be held in the following March. The charge preferred was that of preaching against the charter, and his "usual terming the Church of England anti-Christian." John Cotton, the Boston minister, persuaded the court "to forbear civil prosecution" until the ministers should have "dealt with him in a church way to convince him of sin." Meanwhile arose the difficulty as to the freeman's oath, already referred to. He was now arraigned before the court, and in the opinion of his opponents, though by no means in his own, "confuted" by the ministers; but the court was not prepared even yet to adopt extreme measures. At about this time (May, 1635) the Salem church, in defiance of the court and the ministers, proceeded to make Roger Williams full pastor. Williams was no

doubt encouraged by this show of confidence to continue his sharp denunciations of the charter and the oath. In July he was again summoned to court and charged with advocating opinions dangerous to the common welfare. Besides the matters already mentioned, he is charged with maintaining "that a man ought not to pray with the unregenerate," and "that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament nor after meat." The controversy about the Marblehead land followed. A decree of banishment was issued October 19th, 1635, to take effect within six weeks. A severe illness, contracted while attending court, prevented the carrying out of the decree within the appointed time, and he was permitted to remain until spring, provided he would abstain from teaching his peculiar views. It transpired, however, that his sympathizers were in the habit of gathering at his house, and that he was disregarding the restriction. Arrangements had been made to seize him and transport him to England, where he might experience the tender mercies of Laud. Forewarned, he took refuge in the wilderness. He made his way to his Indian friends, who shared with him such comforts as they had. "I was sorely tossed for one fourteen weeks," he wrote, some years afterward, "not knowing what bread or bed did mean." He complains bitterly in another writing of having been "exposed to winter miseries in a howling wilderness." He believed firmly that if he had perished in his wilderness wanderings his blood would have been on the heads of his persecutors.

To relate in detail the subsequent history of this truth-loving, truth-living man would unduly lengthen this article. The space available may best be devoted (1) to giving, largely in his own words, Roger Williams's views on liberty of conscience; (2) to giving some account of the practical carrying out of these views in the founding of a colony; and (3) to a brief statement of his relations to Baptist principles and practices.

"If we were forced to adopt a modern designation for him," writes Professor Mason, "we should call him the father of all that has figured anywhere, in Great Britain, or in the United States, or in the British colonies, under the name of Voluntaryism." Elsewhere he designates him an "arch-individualist." He advocated the most complete separation of Church and State at a time when there was no historical example of such separation; nay, at a time when to Christian men everywhere such a separation was almost inconceivable. The

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following paragraphs set forth succinctly his view of the relations of Church and State :

"The civil magistrate either respecteth that religion and worship which his conscience is persuaded is true, and upon which he ventures his soul ; or else that and those which he is persuaded are false. Concerning the first, if that which the magistrate believeth to be true, be true, I say he owes a threefold duty unto it : First, approbation and countenance, a reverent esteem and honorable testimony . . . with a tender respect for truth and the professors of it. Secondly, personal submission of his own soul to the power of the Lord Jesus in the spiritual government and kingdom. Thirdly, protection of such true professors of Christ, whether apart or met together, as also of their estates, from violence and injury. . . . If it be a false religion (unto which the civil magistrate dare not adjoin, yet), he owes : First, permission (for approbation he owes not to that which is evil). . . . Secondly, he owes protection to the persons of his subjects (though of a false worship) that no injury be offered either to the persons or goods of any." Here we have the gist of his contention expressed in his own words. How ably and how voluminously he defended the principles involved, by means of Scripture, history, and reason, any one can see who will take the trouble to read "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution," "The Bloody Tenent yet More Bloody," and other minor treatises bearing on this subject. Some time after Roger Williams's banishment the learned and godly John Cotton, pastor of the Boston church, felt it his duty to make one more effort to convert Williams from the error of his ways. In a long letter, afterward published, he attempted to justify the New England State-Church arrangement, and the employment of the civil magistracy in carrying out church discipline. He refused to admit that Williams had been hardly dealt with, and sought to throw the entire responsibility upon Williams himself. He even attributed the severe illness Williams suffered, just after the decree of banishment, to God's displeasure with his conduct, and suggested that he should consider banishment from a country with whose inhabitants he could have no religious fellowship, a blessing rather than a hardship. Williams's somewhat caustic answer to this document was published soon afterward. Cotton published an elaborate rejoinder, in which he ransacked the Scriptures for materials to be used in justifying the union of Church and State, and the

punishment of religious delinquencies by the civil magistracy. His principal reliance was, of course, on the Old Testament ; but by unnatural and forced interpretations he sought to bring a number of New Testament passages likewise to the support of his position. He appealed also to history, and sought to show the utter impracticability of *laissez faire* in religion. He sought also to vindicate his own consistency in separating from the Church of England and complaining of the Laudian régime, and yet in New England refusing toleration to those who differed from him. This called forth (in 1644) Williams's famous "Bloody Tenent of Persecution," already mentioned. Cotton replied in "The Bloody Tenent of Persecution Washed in the Blood of the Lamb." Williams rejoined in the most voluminous of all his works, "The Bloody Tenent Yet More Bloody, by Mr. Cotton's Endeavor to wash it white in the Blood of the Lamb, of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his Servants, and of the Blood of Millions spilt in former and later Wars for Conscience's sake, that most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of Conscience, upon a second Trial, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty."

It will be impracticable for us to follow Roger Williams in the intricacies of his argument through his thousand pages. A few quotations bearing upon one or other aspect of the great question under discussion must suffice. He speaks of "that body-killing, soul-killing, and State-killing doctrine of not permitting, but persecuting all other consciences and ways of worship but his own in the civil state, and so consequently in the whole world, if the power or empire thereof were in his (Cotton's) hand." Again : "Soul yokes, soul oppression, plunderings, ravishings, etc., are of a crimson and deepest dye, and I believe the chief of England's sins, unstopping the vials of England's present sorrows." "Only two things," he writes, "I shall humbly suggest . . . as the greatest causes, fountains, and tap-roots of all the indignation of the Most High against the State and country : First, that the whole nations and generations of men have been forced (though unregenerate and unrepentant) to pretend and assume the name of Christ Jesus, which only belongs, according to the institution of the Lord Jesus, to truly regenerate and repenting souls. Secondly, that all others dissenting from them, whether Jews or Gentiles, their countrymen especially (for strangers have a liberty) have

not been permitted civil cohabitation in this world with them, but have been distressed and persecuted by them." Again: "The greatest yokes yet lying on English necks are of a spiritual and soul nature." "This tenet of the magistrates, keeping the Church from apostatizing, by practising civil force upon the consciences of men, is so far from preserving religion pure, that it is a mighty bulwark or barricade to keep out all true religion; yea, and all godly magistrates for (from?) ever coming into the world." This is a fine bit of sarcasm: "Are the armories of the true King Solomon Christ Jesus disarmed? Are there no spiritual swords girt upon the thighs of those valiant ones, that should guard his heavenly bed, except the sword of steel to be run for from the cutler's shop? Is the religion of Jesus Christ so poor and so weak and feeble grown, so cowardly and base, that neither the soldiers nor commanders in Christ's army have any courage or skill to withstand sufficiently in all points a false teacher, a false prophet, a spiritual cheater or deceiver?" "If the elders and churches and ordinances of Christ have such need of the civil sword for their maintenance and protection (I mean in spiritual things), sure the Lord Jesus cannot be excused for not being careful either to express this great ordinance in His will and testament, or else to have furnished the civil state and officers thereof with ability and hearts for this their great duty and employment, to which He hath called them." Having spoken of the monarchy of Christ and of ministerial power under Christ, he remarks: "There are three great competitors for this deputed or ministerial power of the Lord Jesus. First, the Arch-vicar, or Satan, the pretended Vicar of Christ on earth, who sits as God over the temple of God, exalting himself not only above all that is called God, but over the souls and consciences of all his vassals; yea, over the Spirit of Christ, over the Holy Scriptures, yea and God Himself." . . . The second great competitor to this crown of the Lord Jesus is the civil magistrate, whether emperors, kings, or other inferior officers of the State, who are made to believe by the false prophets of the world that they are the antitypes of the kings of Israel and Judah, and wear the crown of Christ. Under the wing of the civil magistrate do three great factions shelter themselves, and mutually oppose each other, striving as for life, who shall sit down under the shadow of that arm of flesh. First, prelacy. . . . Secondly, the presbytery, . . . who give so much to the civil magis-

trate as to make him absolutely the head of the Church: For, if they make him the reformer of the Church, the suppressor of schismatics and heretics, the protector and defender of the Church, etc., what is this in true plain English but to make him the judge of the true and false Church, judge of what is truth and what is error; who is schismatical, who heretical? . . . The third, though not so great, yet growing faction is that (so-called) Independent. . . . This latter jumps with the prelates, and (though not more fully) yet more explicitly than the Presbyterians cast down the crown of the Lord Jesus at the feet of the civil magistrate; and though they pretend to receive their ministry from the choice of two or three private persons in church covenant, yet they would fain persuade the mother, Old England, to imitate her daughter, New England's, practice—viz., to keep out the Presbyterians, and only to embrace themselves, both as the State's and the peoples' bishops." It is obvious that this remark would fairly apply not to the Independents, properly so called, but only to the semi-Presbyterian State-Church party that had been developed in New England, and such English Independents as sympathized with the New England principles and practices. "The third competition," he proceeds, "for this crown and power of the Lord Jesus is of those that separate both from the one and the other. . . . Of these, those that go furthest, profess they must yet come nearer to the ways of the Son of God, and doubtless so far as they have gone they bid the most and make the fairest plea for the purity and power of Christ Jesus. . . . Let the latter be considered, in their more thorough departure from sin and sinful worship, their condescending to the lowest and meanest contentments of this life, their exposing of themselves for Christ to greater sufferings, and their desiring no civil sword nor arm of flesh, but the two-edged sword of God's Spirit to try out the matter by; and then let the inhabitants of the world judge, which come nearest to the doctrine, holiness, poverty, patience, and practice of the Lord Jesus Christ; and whether or no these latter deserve not so much of humanity and the subjects' liberty, as (not offending the civil State) in the freedom of their souls to enjoy the common air to breathe in." The "inhabitants of the world" are more and more clearly coming to see that in rejecting Papacy and Caesaro-papacy (whether in prelatical, presbyterian, or congregational form), Roger Williams was in this matter wholly right

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and his opponents wholly wrong. Congregationalists are to-day essentially on his platform, and Presbyterians no longer, as they did in Roger Williams's time almost universally, see in toleration "the depths of Satan," his "masterpiece for England," which if he could effect "he would think he had gained well by the Reformation and made a good exchange for the hierarchy."

As a founder of a state no less than as an advocate of a great principle Roger Williams deserves and will have the gratitude and respect of all students of history. Professor Masson describes this part of Williams's life-work as "The organization of a community on the unheard of principle of absolute religious liberty combined with perfect civil democracy." Having personally secured the land that was needed from the natives, for a trifling consideration he gave equal rights with himself to twelve "loving friends and neighbors," "and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellowship of vote with us." These promised to submit themselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders or agreements as should be made for public good of the body in an orderly way, by the major consent of the inhabitants, only in civil things. In a later document Roger Williams writes: "Having made covenant of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and natives round about us, and having in a sense of God's merciful providence unto me in my distress, called the place Providence, I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience; I then, considering the condition of divers of my distressed countrymen, communicated my said purchase to my loving friends." This first organization took place in 1638. In securing the land from the Indians Roger Williams had the valuable assistance of Sir Henry Vane, who also served him very efficiently a few years later in procuring a charter.

In 1640 another agreement was signed by thirty-nine freemen. Among the articles was the following: "We agree, as formerly hath been the liberties of this town, so still, to hold forth liberty of conscience."

Referring to the original code of laws for the colony, Judge Story said: "We read for the first time since Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, the declaration, that 'conscience should be free, and men should not be punished for worshipping God in the way they were persuaded He required,' . . . a declaration, which, to the honor of Rhode Island, she has never departed from." "To this day," writes Pro-

fessor Guild, "the annals of both city and State have remained unsullied by the blot of persecution."

By 1643 the colony had considerably increased in population, and difficulties had arisen as to the relation in which the colony stood to the older colonies to the north. In view of the fact that the Rhode Island colony had no charter from England, the Massachusetts colony sought to assert its jurisdiction over the Narragansett Bay settlements, especially as its interference was invited by a faction of the inhabitants. Moreover, the latter were at great disadvantage in the matter of trade, being denied the use of the New England seaports. In 1643 the Rhode Island and Providence people requested Roger Williams to proceed to England with a view to securing a charter that would put them on an equal footing with their neighbors. The civil war was raging when he reached England, and the Presbyterian party was in power. Through the influence of Sir Henry Vane, one of the foremost statesmen of the age, he obtained a charter for "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New England." This charter gave full power to the inhabitants "to rule themselves, and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such form of civil government, as by voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of them, they shall find most suitable to their estate and condition." He had been obliged to sail from New York in going for the charter; but in England he received such recognition as enabled him to return by way of Boston. This charter gave full liberty to Roger Williams and his friends to carry out, within a specified territory, their own views of civil government. In 1647 a constitution was adopted. It was therein declared, "that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is democratical—that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or a greater part of the free inhabitants." The document concludes with these words: "These are the laws that concern all men, and these are the penalties for the transgression thereof, which by common consent are ratified and established throughout this whole colony; and otherwise than thus what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. And let the saints of the Most High walk in this colony without molestation in the name of Jehovah, their God, forever and ever." Difficulties arose again about 1651, owing to the usur-

pation of authority by William Coddington, supported by the Massachusetts authorities. Roger Williams, accompanied by John Clarke, pastor of the Newport Baptist church and, next to Williams, the ablest man in the colony, proceeded again to England. Cromwell was now at the head of the government, and they succeeded again in securing the recognition of their claims. After the restoration of the Stuarts, it was thought best to secure a royal charter and thus to put the colony on a footing of complete equality with Massachusetts. There can be little doubt that Roger Williams receded somewhat from the radical position respecting charters that had occasioned so much trouble in his early New England career. He attached chief importance to the title to the lands of the colony that he had received directly from the native chiefs; but he did not disdain to secure the further advantages which recognition by the English Government would give. Apologists for the New England theocracy have attempted to make it appear, that even in Roger Williams's colony the rights of conscience were not strictly guarded, and that penalties were inflicted for substantially the same class of offences as those for which Williams was banished. A careful examination of the cases alleged in support of this contention will show that the distinction between civil and religious offences was ever carefully guarded by Roger Williams. At the same time it must be admitted that when the responsibilities rested upon him of dealing practically with disturbers of the peace, who sought to make their religious convictions an excuse for ignoring civil regulations thought to be necessary for the well-being of the community, he felt the necessity of guarding against unwarranted applications of the doctrine of liberty of conscience. It is only fair that, side by side with the statements of this great principle, we should place his own statement as to the proper application of the principle, made in the light of a long and trying experience: "That ever I should speak or write a tittle that tends to such infinite liberty of conscience, is a mistake which I have ever disclaimed and abhorred. To prevent such mistakes, I at present shall only propose this case: There goes many a ship to sea, with many hundred souls in one ship, whose weal and woe is common, and is a true picture of a commonwealth. . . . It hath fallen out sometimes, that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship; upon which supposal, I affirm that

all the liberty of conscience that ever I pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges; that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayers or worship, or compelled from their own particular prayers or worship, if they practice any. I further add, that I never denied that, notwithstanding this liberty, the commander of this ship ought to command the ship's course; yea, and also to command that justice, peace, and sobriety be kept and practised, both among the seamen and all the passengers. If any of the seamen refuse to perform their service, or passengers to pay their freight; if any refuse to help, in person or purse, toward the common charges or defence; if any refuse to obey the common laws and orders of the ship, concerning their common peace or preservation; if any shall mutiny and rise up against their commanders and officers; if any shall preach or write that there ought to be no commanders or officers, because all are equal in Christ, therefore no masters or officers, no laws nor orders, no corrections nor punishments; I say I never denied, but in such cases, whatever is pretended, the commander or commanders may judge, resist, compel, and punish such transgressors, according to their deserts and merits."

We must next examine briefly Roger Williams's relation to the Baptists. The great principle of absolute liberty of conscience, that had been advocated by Baptists for over a hundred years, he adopted, wrought out in all its consequences, and put in practice in the colony which he founded. The principle of absolute separatism seemed to him to involve the Baptist position. He believed that the prelatical Church of England was an apostate Church, that true believers should have no fellowship whatever with this Church. He repudiated with the utmost decision the ordinances administered by and in this apostate Church, as well as its worship and teachings. He insisted with vehemence on regenerate church-membership. His repudiation of the Church of England involved, from his point of view, the repudiation of the baptism that he and others had received in this communion. His insistence of regenerate membership involved the rejection of infant baptism. Having become convinced that these consequences were involved in his position, he was too faithful to his convictions not to go where logic led. Accordingly, early in 1638, two years after his banishment, he repudiated the baptism he had received in infancy, and was immersed by Ezekiel Holliman, who before he left

Massachusetts town. Williams and eleven first Baptist is a matter Williams had done had grown had been during lost, it to restore sion so at some would tinned and m ing Baptist der th Clarke carryin ernor Seekon with men a the Clarke Lucan their of our other in 163 ing ap to th great "Af consi that chur ment many heav true flock discipl as ca God that soul the exta "T of t in C and bef and the

Massachusetts had shown a strong inclination towards Baptist principles and practices. Williams proceeded to baptize Holliman and eleven others. Thus was founded the first Baptist church in the New World. It is a matter of regret to Baptists that Roger Williams was not able to rest in what he had done. In a few months the conviction had grown upon him that this new introduction of believers' baptism was unwarranted. He believed that the ordinances had been lost by the apostasy of the Church during many centuries, and that being thus lost, it was not incumbent upon believers to restore them without a special commission so to do. He seems to have hoped that at some time in the future the ordinances would be miraculously restored. He continued on friendly terms with the Baptists, and many years afterward, when a flourishing Baptist church existed at Newport under the leadership of his friend, John Clarke, and the Providence church was still carrying forward its work, he wrote to Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts: "At Seekonk a great many have lately concurred with Mr. John Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptism, and the manner by dipping, and Mr. John Clarke hath been there lately, and Mr. Lucar, and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes nearer the first practice of our great Founder Christ Jesus than other practices of religion do." This was in 1649. In his old age (1676), in his writing against the Quakers, referring evidently to the Baptists, who by this time had greatly increased in numbers, he says: "After all my search and examinations, and considerations . . . I do profess to believe that some come nearer to the first primitive churches, and the institutions and appointments of Christ Jesus than others; as in many respects, so in that gallant, and heavenly, and fundamental principle of the true matter of a Christian congregation, flock, or society—viz., actual believers, true disciples and converts, living stones, such as can give some account how the grace of God hath appeared unto them, and wrought that heavenly change in them. . . . If my soul could find rest in joining unto any of the churches professing Christ Jesus now extant, I would readily and gladly do it." "The two first principles and foundations of true religion or worship of the true God in Christ," he wrote in 1643, "are repentance from dead works and faith toward God, before the doctrine of baptism or washing and the laying on of hands, which continue the ordinances and practices of worship; the

want of which I conceive is the bane of millions of souls in England and all other nations professing to be Christian nations, who are brought by public authority to baptism and fellowship with God in ordinances of worship, before the saving work of repentance and a true turning to God." Thus it appears that he remained a Baptist in everything except in his demand, that could be fulfilled only by a miracle, of divine sanction for the restoration of the ordinances long since hopelessly lost. Had Roger Williams been acquainted with the latest researches in mediæval history, and had he known of the strong current of evangelical life that runs through the ages commonly denominated "dark," he would probably not have been so absolutely sure that the ordinances had been lost, even from his point of view, that demanded apostolic succession as a condition of their validity. But he was manifestly in error in making the validity of ordinances to depend upon any ceremonial qualification of the person administering them: the error of the Donatists in the early ages, and of High Churchmen, Episcopal and Baptist, in modern times.

It would be interesting to record the impressions of his contemporaries, who were mostly his opponents, and the impressions derived from reading his own writings, as to the personal godliness of Roger Williams. Those who opposed him most strenuously could not but love the man and admire his sincerity and utter loyalty to what he believed to be the truth.

An attempt has been made to set forth the real Roger Williams; not an idealized character, but the man as he lived and moved and labored in the wilds of New England more than two hundred years ago. If it has been made to appear, that while he was not a perfect man, and while he fell short of a clear apprehension of truth in some directions, he was one of the most advanced thinkers of an age of prodigious intellectual activity, and was far in advance of his age in his advocacy of absolute civil and religious liberty, the purpose of the writer will have been fulfilled.

A few sentences from George Bancroft, the father of American historiography, may fitly close this sketch. Having given Roger Williams more credit than, in the judgment of the writer, he deserves, "as the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of conscience," and having spoken of him as "the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and superior of Jeremy Taylor," he pro-

ceeds: "We praise the man who first analyzed the air, or resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds, even though the discoveries may have been as much the fruits of time as of genius. A moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society, than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace, and spreads tranquillity through every community and every bosom. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence, because, on his death-bed, he published to the world that the sun is the centre of our system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence for his sagacity in detecting the laws of the planetary motion; if the genius of Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light, and weighing heavenly bodies in a balance, let there be for the name of Roger Williams, at least some humble place among those who have advanced moral science and made themselves the benefactors of mankind."

INSPIRATION.

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From *The Oxford Magazine*.

"Every scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work."—2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

THESE words apply primarily to the Old Testament. This appears not only from the fact that at the time when they were written the New Testament was still incomplete, and the writings which existed could hardly have acquired the recognised authority implied in this connection by the Greek term *γραφή*, but also from considerations arising out of the context. In the preceding verses the Apostle urges Timothy to abide in the things which he has learned, and been assured of, knowing of whom he has learned them, that "from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus." The Scriptures which Timothy, "the son of a Jewess which believed," whom Paul "took and circumcised" at Lystra, had known from a babe, could only have been those of the Old Cove-

nant; and it is for the purpose of enforcing or illustrating the statement that these Scriptures are able to make wise unto salvation, that the Apostle proceeds with the words that I have taken as my text: "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness, that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work."

The subject suggested by my text is one on which it is difficult to say anything which has not been said before. I can only invite your attention this morning to some aspects of it which, though they have been often pointed to, are still sometimes overlooked, and which it seems important to bear in mind at the present day.

"Every Scripture inspired of God." What does this expression signify? We inquire in vain for any authoritative answer. The use of the word will not guide us, for no other Biblical writer employs it. Scripture itself supplies no material assistance; for though the Biblical writers often assert the Divine origin of particular declarations made by them, there is no parallel statement, speaking with greater distinctness, respecting the origin of the Bible as a whole. Our Church in its formularies treats the Scriptures as the authoritative rule of faith, and is careful to emphasise their sufficiency unto salvation; but it has given no definition of inspiration; and the books constituting Holy Scripture are described solely by the external mark of being canonical, not by any internal character or quality affirmed to inhere in them. Nevertheless men have assumed that they knew, as it were, intuitively what inspiration meant, and what it involved: they have framed theories of its nature accordingly, and have demanded that the Bible should conform to them. Some, for instance, have imagined inspiration to imply the complete suspension of the human personality, so that the inspired agent resembled a flute in the hands of a player. Others, not going quite so far as this, have still not been able to conceive of inspiration, except as determining the very words and letters of the Bible. Everything, these divines have said, written under inspiration is in every particular and in every relation infallible. "The affirmations of Scripture of all kinds, whether of spiritual doctrine or duty, or of physical or historical fact, or of psychological or philosophical principle, are without any error when the *ipsissima verba* of the original autographs are ascertained and interpreted in their natural and intended sense." "A

proved error in Scripture contradicts not only our doctrine but the Scripture claims, and therefore its inspiration in making these claims." The sentences which I have quoted are not indeed from the pen of an Anglican Divine; but they hardly do more than give pointed expression to a feeling which probably has often been shared by members of our own communion. It is important to observe that for the statements contained in them there is no warrant either in the Bible itself, or in the formularies of our Church. They are the speculations of individual theologians, framed upon the basis of *a priori* conceptions respecting what an inspired book must be, the more serious consideration, what its claims and characteristics actually are, being left out of sight altogether. It cannot be too often repeated that the only legitimate method of determining what is involved in the idea of inspiration, or under what conditions it manifests itself, is by an examination of the books that are described as inspired, and an impartial study of the facts presented by them. The Scriptures nowhere make the claim of absolute and universal inerrancy. And the characteristics of the books comprising them are in many cases very different from those which would naturally be inferred from the first of the statements which I have just read.

Without pretending to define inspiration, or to determine the mystery of its operation, we may, I suppose, say that what we mean by it is an influence which gave to those who received it a unique and extraordinary *spiritual insight*, enabling them thereby, without superseding or suppressing the human faculties, but rather using them as its instruments, to declare in different degrees, and in accordance with the needs or circumstances of particular ages or particular occasions, the mind and purpose of God. Every true and noble thought of man is indeed, in a sense, inspired of God; but with the Biblical writers the purifying and illuminating Spirit must have been present in some special and exceptional measure. Nevertheless, in the words of the prophet, or other inspired writer, there is a human element, not less than a Divine element, and neither of these must be ignored. I need not pause in this place for the purpose of emphasising the Divine element in Scripture: it is manifest to all. The "heavenliness of the matter"—to use the expressive phrase of the Westminster Confession—speaks in it with a clearness which none can mistake, and strikes a responsive chord in every heart that is open to receive

a message from above. In the Old Testament we read how God awakened in His ancient people of Israel the consciousness of Himself: and we hear one writer after another unfolding different aspects of His nature, and disclosing with increasing distinctness His gracious purposes towards man. In the pages of the prophets there shine forth with ineffable lustre, those sublime declarations of truth and righteousness and judgment which have impressed all readers, to whatever age or clime or creed they have belonged. In the Psalms we hear the meditations of the believing soul, contemplating with adoring wonder the manifold operations of Providence, or pouring forth its emotions in converse with God. The historians set before us, from different points of view, the successive stages in the Divine education of the race. They show us how its natural tendencies to polytheism were gradually overcome. They show us how Israel was more and more separated from its neighbours, in order to be the effectual witness and keeper of Divine truth. Sin is indeed so deeply rooted in human nature that its extirpation upon this earth is not to be expected; but the writers of the Old Testament explain to us how the ordinances of Israel were adapted to counteract its influence, and to maintain a right attitude of the heart towards God. And they interpret further their nation's history: they show us how a providential purpose dominates it; how it is subservient to God's aims; how the past leads on to better possibilities in the present; how the present points to still better possibilities in the future. And the crown and consummation of Israel's long and chequered past is set before us in the pages of the New Testament. In order to realise what the Bible is, we have but to imagine what the literature of Israel would have been, had not those to whom we owe it been illumined in some special measure by the light from heaven: even though its external history had been approximately the same, its historians, its statesmen, its essayists, its poets, would assuredly have written in a very different strain.

But though the greatness and the spiritual importance of the Divine element in Scripture has often and rightly engrossed men's attention, still, in order properly to estimate the character of the book which is termed inspired, or the revelation as we actually possess it, the human element must not be overlooked. Not only is Divine truth always presented through the human organ, and is thus, so to say, col-

oured by the individuality of the inspired agent by whom it is enunciated, but it is impossible to close our eyes to the fact that its enunciations are sometimes relative rather than absolute; they are adapted to the circumstances of particular ages, they may even be limited by the spiritual capacity of the particular writer, or, in the case of his being a historian, by the materials or sources of information which he had at his disposal. The revelation of the Old Testament is avowedly progressive: the teaching in its earlier parts may naturally therefore be expected to be imperfect as compared with that which is given in its later parts, or which is to be found in the New Testament. We cannot take at random a passage from the inspired volume and say, without qualification or comparison with other passages, that it is absolute truth, or the pure word of God, or an infallible guide to conduct or character.

One or two illustrations will explain what I have in view. In the Book of Job we have a picture of the trial of the pious sufferer. Job, the patriarch of integrity and piety, is subjected to an unexampled succession of calamities. Under the weight of them he bursts forth into passionate imprecations, complaining bitterly of the misery of his lot. His friends, whose theory of life can only account for suffering as caused by some antecedent sin, accuse him wrongfully of grave offences against God and man. The patriarch, goaded to desperation by the combined severity of his sufferings and the cruel taunts of his friends, loses control of himself: he charges the Almighty with persecuting him maliciously, with treating him wilfully as guilty while He knows him to be innocent (x. 6, 7), with even governing the world at large as an arbitrary and unjust despot (ix. 22-24; ch. xxi.). Clearly we cannot here treat the misapplied truths placed in the mouths of the friends, or the impious sentences hurled by Job against the Almighty, as the absolute word or teaching of God. The parts of the Book of Job must be read in the light supplied by the whole: the inspiration of the poem is to be found in the manner in which the theme chosen by the poet is developed, and in the lessons which are deducible from the work as a whole. The Book of Job, treated as a whole, declares more than one great truth of God's government of the world, but it contains many particular statements, of which innerrancy cannot, in any reasonable sense of the term, be predicated.

The relativity of inspiration is observable

again very noticeably in the Book of Ecclesiastes. The melancholy conclusion to which the author's moralisings lead him is that life under all its aspects is dissatisfying and disappointing; the best that can be done with it is to enjoy, while it lasts, such pleasures as it brings with it. "There is nothing better for a man than that he should eat and drink, and make his soul enjoy good in his labour" (ii. 24). How strangely these words fall upon our ears! How unlike the soaring aspirations of the Psalmists, or the spirit of generous philanthropy which breathes so often in the discourses of the great prophets, or the exhortations of the law! The teaching of Ecclesiastes, if followed consistently, could only result in paralysing human effort, in stifling every impulse of an ennobling or unselfish kind. The author's theory of life is imperfect; untoward and depressing circumstances, as it seems, embittered his spirit, and concealed from him a fuller and more satisfying view of the sphere of human activity. His conclusions possess only a relative value. It is upon life not absolutely, but as he witnessed and experienced it, that he passes his remorseless verdict "all is vanity." It was the particular age with which he was himself acquainted that prompted him to judge as he did of the uselessness of human endeavour; and his maxims, at least so far as they possess a negative aspect, cannot be applied to a different age without material qualification and reserve.

Even in the Psalms the same fact strikes us. Profound as the spirituality of the Psalms commonly is, and adequate as their language nearly at all times is to give words to the deepest religious emotions of the devout Christian, it is undeniable that passages occur in the Psalter which seem to him to strike a discordant note. It is not my intention this morning to dilate upon the so-called imprecatory Psalms, or to review the various explanations and excuses which have been offered for their presence in the Psalter: after all has been said, it must be acknowledged, in the words of the most recent commentator on the Psalms, that these utterances "belong to the spirit of the Old Testament, and not of the New Testament, and by it they must be judged." Nor, though this is sometimes overlooked, do they stand alone in the Old Testament: Jeremiah more than once breaks out into invocations of vengeance against his personal enemies, which differ in no substantial respect from those which we read in the Book of Psalms (cf. Jer. xviii. 21, 23). And

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exquisite as is the pathos which breathes in the 137th Psalm, as the poet contrasts the land of his exile with his beloved ancestral home, do we not all feel the difference between his closing verse, "Happy shall he be that taketh thy little ones and dasheth them against the stones," and the words of that other Psalmist who wrote, "I will make mention of Rahab and Babylon as them that know me?" It is plain that there exist declarations in the Bible which are not free from the tinge of human infirmity and human passion. But abundant as are the evidences of the elevating and sanctifying work of the Spirit of God upon the writers in both Testaments, we have no antecedent right to suppose that every writer is in precisely the same degree subordinated to it. Neither Scripture itself, nor the judgment of the Church, authorises us to affirm that every statement, or even every book, stands upon the same moral or religious plane, or is in the same measure the expression of the Divine mind: the influences of time and place, of circumstances and situation, of scope and aim, of temper and opportunity, must all be taken into account, before we can rightly judge of the precise sense in which parts of Scripture are to be regarded as the word of God, and of the precise degree in which they individually claim to be authoritative.

So also there are phenomena in the historical books which are inconsistent with *a priori* theories of inspiration, as well as with hard and fast definitions of the Word of God. If there is a subject on which precision of statement might antecedently be expected, it is surely in the record of the discourses of Christ. Yet here, while there are ample independent reasons (on which I cannot now dwell) for holding that in all essentials they have been transmitted to us faithfully, in matters of verbal exactitude no small freedom has been permitted. In the Synoptic Gospels, sayings of our Lord, in origin and occasion manifestly the same, are often presented in a more or less divergent literary form: St. Luke in particular appears to have been apt to partially recast both the narratives and the discourses which reached him, and to accommodate them to his own style. In the disposition of their materials also the Evangelists sometimes differ remarkably: matter, and to all appearance the same matter, which in one Gospel is aggregated, in another is found dispersed. The combination of resemblances and differences in the Synoptic Gospels is a most singular literary feature; and its explanation constitutes a problem of great

complexity, in which, though certain fixed points appear to have been gained, much still remains uncertain. But whatever solution be adopted, or even though the problem be insoluble, it is manifest that *some* editorial modification and adjustment of the material has taken place in each. And in the Fourth Gospel, a comparison with the Synoptics on the one hand, and with the Epistles of St. John on the other, makes it impossible to doubt that the actual words of Christ have often been transfused into the individuality of the Evangelist, and reshaped in his own phraseology.* So far, even in the most sacred parts of Scripture, is the truthfulness of the picture, as a whole, dissociated from the mechanical correctness of its individual parts, and made independent either of the chronological precision of the annalist, or of the verbal exactitude of the stenographer.

Nor does the Old Testament teach a different lesson. Compilation, diversity of origin, variety of motive and standpoint, are the characteristics which disclose themselves when the historical books are examined with sufficient minuteness and care. Traditions, shaped partly by oral transmission, partly by the hand of the narrator, rather than the immediate testimony of eye-witnesses, are what, it is difficult to doubt, are here sometimes presented to us. Dramatic personification, which in a more or less mature form has held such a prominent and often such an important place in the literature of the world, is seen also to be not unrepresented in the Old Testament. Why should it not be so? Why should modes and styles of composition which, except by extreme Puritans, have always been recognised as the legitimate vehicle of human thought, as well as a powerful instrument of education, be excluded from the consecrating influence of the spirit of God? If the imagination be a faculty granted by God to man, and capable, as all must allow, of being employed in instruction and edification, why, where no fact, conditioning a theological verity, is concerned, may it not have been subordinated to the Divine plan for the spiritual advancement of the race? Where nothing is defined as to the nature or the limits of the inspiring Spirit's work, with what justice are particular spheres to be excluded, as it were upon principle, from the range of its operation? Do not the opening words of

* Comp. Watkins, *Bampton Lectures* (1890), p. 426 f.; Sanday, *The Fourth Gospel*, p. 73 f., 128-130, 222 f.; and in *The Contemporary Review*, Oct. 1891, p. 536, 538 f. (reprinted in the November number of this magazine), and *The Expositor*, Nov. 1891, p. 393 ff.

the Epistle to the Hebrews authorise us to expect variety of degree, not less than variety of form, in the manifestation of Himself which God made through the writers of the older dispensation? Through the history of Israel as a nation, through the lives of its representative men, and through the varied forms of its national literature, God has revealed Himself to the world. But this revelation was not made in its completeness at a single moment: it was subjected externally to the conditions which govern human history; it advanced progressively; and it is not more than consonant with the idea of progress that at each stage it should be regulated by the opportunities, and adapted to the capabilities, of those to whom it was primarily addressed.

Nothing is more destructive of the just claims of Christianity than a false theory of inspiration: nothing has led to more fatal shipwrecks of faith than the acceptance in youth of *a priori* views of what an inspired book must be, which the study of maturer years has demonstrated only too cogently to be untrue to fact. It needs, indeed, less than the "proved error" to confute "our doctrine?" how wide an interval separates that doctrine from the "Scripture claims" with which it has been so complacently and yet so naively identified, is not alas! always perceived. Let us, while we adhere firmly to the *fact* of inspiration, refrain from defining, and especially from limiting, the range or mode of its operation, until we have familiarised ourselves, as well as may be, with the varied contents, and with the often remarkable relations subsisting between the different parts of the volume which we term inspired. When we have done this it will hardly fail but that our conception of its scope will be broadened and enlarged. It seems, indeed, to be sometimes apprehended that if any modification be allowed in the popular conception of an inspired work, men's respect for the Bible will be impaired. The apprehension, though the feeling which prompts it may be sympathised with and appreciated, is surely a mistaken one. Men's respect for the Bible will be most securely won, and its authority most effectually established, by the truth about it being set before them, and by claims not being raised on its behalf *which it does not raise itself*. Men's respect for it, it is to be feared, is sometimes sadly diminished by the forced and unnatural expedients to which apologists have resorted, for the purpose of reconciling the facts which the Bible actually presents with those which, according to their own theory

of its origin and contents, ought to be found in it. Shall we not do well to remember Hooker's caution: "As incredible praises given to men do often abate and impair the credit of the deserved commendation, so we must likewise take great heed lest by attributing to Scripture more than it can have, the incredibility of that do cause even those things which indeed it hath abundantly to be less reverently esteemed?"*

It may be doubted from this point of view whether the common use of the expression, "Word of God," as a term descriptive of the entire Bible, does not sometimes give rise to misunderstanding. To say nothing of the uncertainties of transmission, translation, and interpretation, involved in many passages, the identification of both, which it virtually implies, leaves out of sight that important aspect of the whole truth that the message from God which the Bible brings to man is always mediated through a human channel: it tends to generate a confusion between the Divine thought and the human imagery, or human form of composition, under which it is presented. The figurative language of the prophets, or the imaginative presentation of a great truth in a book like the poem of Job, will illustrate what I mean. Applied to the Bible, as a whole, the expression, "Word of God," seems to savour of the old theory of inspiration, which no one now cares to maintain, according to which the Holy Ghost dictated to the Biblical writers the very terms which they were to use: it seems to place every part of the Bible upon precisely the same spiritual level: it seems to imply an absoluteness, a finality, a perfection, which, as the instances that I have referred to sufficiently show, do not inhere in every particular statement which Scripture contains. No doubt the term could be so defined as to make it coextensive with the whole Bible; but there would always be the danger of the technical definition being forgotten, and the popular acceptance being substituted for it. And it should be carefully remembered that this use of the term is not Biblical. In the Old Testament the term "Word of God" is applied chiefly to particular declarations of the purposes or promises of God, especially to those made by the prophets: in the New Testament it denotes commonly the gospel message, the tidings of salvation proclaimed first upon the lips of the Saviour, carried afterwards by His apostles to different quarters of the globe. But it is

* *Ecd. Pol.* II. viii. 7.

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never applied to the historical books (of either Testament), or to the Wisdom literature, or even to the Psalms. We are thus not in a position to say whether the Biblical writers themselves would have so applied it. It is certain that no historical writer claims to draw his information from a supernatural source; and it is at least worthy of consideration whether the *record* of a revelation, though legitimately termed "inspired," is itself legitimately regarded as identical with the "Word of God." In the official formularies of our Church there is an elasticity in the use of the expression, in strict conformity with Biblical usage—as when the priest is described not by the mechanical term of *reader*, but as the Dispenser or Preacher of God's word—which shows that it must not be treated as if it denoted solely or principally a given collection of written statements, but that it properly denotes the message sent by God to man, which may be translated into very different forms, and modified, in external representation, to suit the needs of different occasions. I venture to think that, especially in dealing with persons of limited education, it would be judicious to exercise some reserve in the use of this term, and to prefer modes of expression which, while not less just to fact, might be less open to misconstruction.

But I have left unnoticed what is really the primary affirmation of my text. The context in any case, and, if the Revised Version be adopted, the terms of the text itself, show that the point which the Apostle desires to emphasise is not the particular sense in which he held the Old Testament Scriptures to be inspired, but the practical teaching to be derived from them. "But abide thou in the things that thou hast learned, knowing . . . that from a babe thou hast known the sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness; that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished unto every good work." The practical value of the Old Testament is not dependent upon a theory of the sense in which it is inspired; and those who judge the literature of Israel from what may be termed a critical as opposed to a traditional standpoint must dispute the claim, which representatives of the latter seem sometimes to make, that they alone are conscious of the worth of the Old Testament. The Old Testament Scriptures enshrine truths of permanent and universal

validity. Motives, precepts, lessons, as serviceable now as they were in a distant past, start up out of its pages. In spite of the special and, it might even be said, narrowing circumstances under which they were nearly all written, in spite of the national sentiment which was a natural, and indeed a necessary, condition of the history of Israel, its great writers continually rise above all the limiting influences of time or place, and proclaim truths respecting God and man, which, as they constituted the foundation upon which the Christian faith was reared, so they have now been made the priceless and inalienable possession of humanity. We hear in the Old Testament exhortations to righteousness, and the rebuke of sin. We have set before us types for our imitation, and examples for our warning. We learn truths from it which we might in vain seek to discover for ourselves, the counsels of our Heavenly Father for the guidance of His children, the temper and frame of mind by which He would have them respond to His call. In manifold tones the Voice of God speaks to us from its pages. The Scriptures of the Old Testament are the record of a revelation, having the practical aim of raising men's thoughts towards heaven, and prompting them to righteousness and holiness of life, "that the man of God may be complete, completely furnished unto every good work." They may not exhibit the characteristics which theologians have sometimes pictured them as possessing; but if we go to them in search of the word of God, we shall infallibly find it. May we so read them that they may exert upon us the effect for which St. Paul impressed the study of them upon Timothy! May they help to furnish us completely unto every good work, and to make us wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus!

ANCIENT BELIEFS IN IMMORTALITY.

A REPLY TO MR. GLADSTONE.*

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR CHEYNE.

From *The Nineteenth Century* (London), December, 1891.

THE author of the article on 'Ancient Beliefs in a Future State' in the October number of this Review has so many titles to one's respect that it is with regret that

* Mr. Gladstone's article was reprinted in the November number of this magazine.

I even seem to place myself in opposition to him. I am sure, however, that he will not misinterpret the freedom which I take, and that were I to offer him exemption from criticism, his eager mind and generous character would not allow him to accept it. Moreover, to say the truth, Mr. Gladstone has several times of late courted criticism. Not only in his *Landmarks of Homeric Study*, but in a thoughtful and deeply earnest work on the study of the Bible, he runs counter to the prevailing tendency of modern research, and though there has been, perhaps, not much reply, at any rate from Biblical scholars, it is certainly not for want of opportunity. Still, I should not have troubled the reader with these remarks but for the circumstance that the article referred to has, on the one hand, given me credit for that which I have not done, and which it passes the ability of scholarship to do, and, on the other, passed over both what I may fairly claim to have proved and what I hope to have made in a high degree probable; it also appears to me to convey a thoroughly wrong impression of my treatment of the subject before us. I am sure that this is due to mere inadvertence. Mr. Gladstone simply acts like the great lay preacher that he is in seeking a brief and pointed text for his discourse, and if he selects one from an article of my own in a little-known Indian periodical,* I ought to feel myself honoured. And so I should, if this eminent writer, whose interest in the work of Oxford men for India gratifies me, had not first of all, in the manner of many text-without-context-quoting clerical preachers, misapprehended the meaning of his text, and then, unlike the preachers referred to, most unbecomingly but resolutely pulled his misapprehended text to pieces.

Perhaps, in justice to myself, I ought to point out that in the writings mentioned below† Mr. Gladstone would have found a much fuller statement of my case than in my popular article. The principal one is, in fact, referred to as forthcoming in the *Indian Church Quarterly*, but Mr. Gladstone had not time to seek it out. I will

now quote some of my critic's introductory words:—

It is the opinion of Professor Cheyne that there is a doctrine of immortality in the Old Testament. He finds it in Psalms xvi., xvii., xxxvi., xlix., lxiii., lxxiii. He thinks he has proved that these psalms were composed 'during the latter part of the Persian rule over Palestine.' In the Review, however, he does not enter upon the date of these psalms, but states a principle which serves as a convenient text for a discussion of the subject touched by it. The principle is this: 'It involves a much greater strain upon faith to hold that the wonderful intuition of immortality was granted so early as the times of David and Solomon, than to bring the psalms in question down to the late Persian age.'

To this 'convenient text' Mr. Gladstone subjoins this comment:—

The general doctrine which appears to be here conveyed is to something like the following effect: that the human race advances through experience, heredity, and tradition, from infancy towards maturity; that the mind, subjected to these educative influences, undergoes a process of expansion, and becomes capable, in a later age, of accepting intelligently what, in an earlier age, it could not have been fit to receive. In my opinion, such a doctrine requires an important qualification: because moral elements, as well as those which are intellectual, go to form our capability of profitable reception, &c. (p. 658).

Later on he says (I omit for the present the two questions on page 663):—

For those who suppose [the psalms mentioned above] to have belonged to the worship of the Solomonic temple, and who are glad to follow Professor Cheyne when he proves that they embody the hope of a future life, it would be somewhat anomalous to believe that, while the public service taught this doctrine, no mark of it had been left, outside the temple-walls, upon the historical books of the Old Testament, or in the sense of the people (p. 664).

And after completing his examination of the narrative books of the Old Testament, he puts forward the theory, in opposition, as he conceives, to my own, that what I have called a 'great strain upon faith' 'seems to have been put upon the Egyptians and the Iranians at a very early age indeed' (p. 673).

Up to a certain point, therefore, Mr. Gladstone avails himself of my help. I have, as he is willing to believe, 'proved' that Psalms xvi., xvii., xxxvi., xlix., lxiii., lxxiii., 'embody the hope of a future life.' My critic disagrees with me, however, as to the date of these liturgical compositions, which he refers, not to the latter part of the Persian age, but to the age of David and Solomon (pp. 663, 664). He apparently thinks, moreover, that I have been blind to the high religious attainments of sections of the human race before the time

* *The Indian Church Quarterly Review*, April 1891. Article, 'The Biblical Doctrine of Immortality.'

† *The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter in the Light of Old Testament Criticism and the History of Religions* (Bampton Lectures for 1891), 1891.

Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Ancient Israel, two public lectures delivered at Oxford. See *Expository Times*, June, July, and August, 1891. If I am not mistaken, mine is the first attempt, on the theological side, to reconsider the relation of Judaism to Zoroastrianism on the basis of the texts and of the actually leading authorities. The necessities of criticism led me to make it: for it is clear enough that no part of the Old Testament will yield the secret of its origin to an unassisted literary analysis. Whenever Zend scholarship was needed, I was able to apply to a learned specialist, Dr. Mills.

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of David, and that I believe 'the idea of immortality' to have been 'made known to the Hebrews from Persian sources' (p. 663), having rashly ignored the evidence bearing on Jewish belief in a future life before the Persian age—in short, that I am an adherent of a somewhat crude form (which is described on p. 658) of the historical doctrine of development.

Let me with due modesty compare Mr. Gladstone's statements and implications with facts. Have I anywhere claimed to have proved on purely linguistic or exegetical grounds that six of the psalms 'embody the hope of a future life'? By no means. The greatest linguist or interpreter in the world could not do this; the old dogmatic certainty as to the one clear prophetically Christian meaning of the psalms has for ever passed away. What I have said, both in my article and elsewhere, is this—that there are passages in the six psalms referred to which may, without straining language, be considered to give a vague untheological expression to this great hope, on condition that these psalms can be shown, on grounds both philological and in the larger sense critical, to be of the post-Exilic, and, more precisely, of the late Persian or early Greek period. Mr. Gladstone will see that he has no right to take one part of my theory and to leave the other. If these six psalms are of the pre-Exilic or of the early post Exilic period, then we simply cannot, according to my theory, interpret them as containing foregleams of the faith in spiritual immortality. If, however, they are of the latter part of the Persian age, when the direct and indirect influence of Zoroastrian ideas upon the Jews must have been considerable, we may.

Next, have I been blind to the higher elements in ethnic religions before the time of David? On the contrary. References to such elements in Babylonian, Assyrian, and Egyptian religions are wanting in few of my writings, while references to the religion of Zarathustra are prominent in the latest (including of course the article in question). To look for the same higher religious elements in the Homeric poems would have seemed to me an historical paradox, but I have expressly said that 'half the sympathy which we bring to the Psalter would reveal unsuspected beauties in the [upon any critical hypothesis] much older sacred songs of Chaldea,'* and if I did not mention Egypt in this connection, it was only because 'Egyptian religion has not

the elementary affinities with the Israelitish which are possessed by that of Mesopotamia.'* And how is it possible that my courteous critic should have brought the next charge against me—that I represent the Hebrews as having borrowed the idea of immortality from Persia? Why, I have expressly guarded myself against this very misapprehension. 'My view' (the words are taken from my article) 'is *not* that the psalmists borrowed from Zoroastrianism, but that the example of this faith stimulated Jewish prophets and psalmists to expand their own germs of truth.'† And upon turning to my *Bampton Lectures* Mr. Gladstone will find that Part I. of Lecture VI. bears this heading, 'The Religious Ideas of the Psalter not borrowed,' and that Part II. of Lecture VIII. carries out the theory already promulgated with special reference to the idea of immortality. If there is a more frank discussion of this subject anywhere, I shall be most thankful to learn from it. Meantime I will only quote a short passage from a published academic lecture which has escaped Mr. Gladstone's attention:—

'Both Babylon and Persia may, under God, have helped forward their growth, but they existed potentially among the Israelites in germs which had, to a certain extent, an inherent power of development. The hypothesis of borrowed beliefs is an easy but not always a very critical one, and it appears to me, in cases like the present, to be inconsistent with the policy of Israel's church-leaders, who felt that the originality of their own religion would be endangered by too large an admixture of elements of foreign origin. . . . The influence exerted upon them was not that of a master upon a slave, but that of one disciple of the true God upon another. Israel, though the destined leader of religious progress, was comparatively slow in his development; was there any reason why he should not receive, not indeed entirely fresh intuitions, but stimulus to thought. and, it may be, sometimes even forms of theological expression, from without?'‡

It is, I submit, very unfair to my theory (which affirms a native Hebrew movement in the post-Exilic period in a Zoroastrian direction, and admits the controlling influence of the Divine Spirit) to describe it as Mr. Gladstone has done in his article. And

* *The Book of Psalms*, 'Parchment Library' version, Intro. p. x.

† *Indian Church Quarterly Review*, April 1891, p. 137.

‡ Possible Zoroastrian Influences on the Religion of Israel, Part I. *Expository Times*, June 1891, p. 303.

* *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 267.

in conclusion, viewing all the evidence together, it is surely an error in judgment to impute to me the crude development hypothesis (which leaves no room for prophets) described on page 658.

I hope that I have thus made two points sufficiently clear. First, that the 'text' which Mr. Gladstone has borrowed from me is not at all a 'convenient' one; and next, that, except with regard to the date of the six psalms, he has not accurately represented my teaching. I know full well how my critic will feel: to a noble conscience, as his own poet says, 'how bitter a sting is trivial fault!'^{*} He will certainly regret these mistakes, and will bear with me if, in the interests of truth, I endeavour to account for them. It might at first be supposed that there was something in the style of my article which lent itself to misapprehension. On consideration, however, this idea must be abandoned. In addressing the sensitive clerical public of the *Indian Church Quarterly*, the utmost simplicity of style was indispensable, and was in fact employed. No; Mr. Gladstone's difficulty in reading my article must have lain below the words—in the ideas. A free but profoundly devout criticism of the Old Testament was a novelty to him—accepted, we may hope, as a fact, but not comprehended in all its bearings. How, indeed, could Mr. Gladstone trust a criticism which was partly of rationalistic origin, and which, according to its enemies, still looked for directions to Germany? And how could Biblical scholars, who, as was supposed, were but apt pupils of this or that leading German critic, have anything fresh to say about the Psalms after Reuss and Wellhausen?† Mr. Gladstone therefore contented himself with dipping into my unlucky article, not supposing that I had given the first comprehensive study of the origin and religious contents of the Psalter both from the point of view of advanced criticism and from that of the history of religions. I do not, however, find fault with Mr. Gladstone, for, as Dante's Statius says, 'oftentimes do things appear which give false material for doubting,'‡ and I hope that he may realise in himself that other high saying of Dante's

Beatrice, that 'doubt springs up, in fashion of a shoot, at the foot of truth.'^{*}

Meantime I will venture to indicate some doubtful points in Mr. Gladstone's essay, which 'Statius' may perhaps be able to explain. There is a weak point in the essay to which the author's delicately-veiled criticism of myself on p. 658 has opened my eyes. He is evidently fascinated by social and religious ideas, and delights in the literary expression which they have found. He has also a strong interest in prophets and revealers, but I miss any clear perception of the great historical principle of development. I will not quarrel with him for objecting to this or that theoretic form of the principle, but I do desire to see the principle itself distinctly recognised. It must be in consequence of this deficiency that Mr. Gladstone fails to realise what the references to a 'future state' in the admittedly older Scriptures mean. He constantly speaks as if the popular belief in Sheol were equivalent to a belief in immortality, and even thinks it worth while to show that 'the people [of Israel] did not fall so low in the scale either of nature or of grace as to suppose that the life of man is at an end when his remains are laid in the ground' (p. 666). To this point I must return later; I now proceed to remark upon Mr. Gladstone's historical method. There is, it seems to me, one essential requirement in point of method which he does not satisfy. No one surely ought to discuss 'ancient beliefs in a future state' without a (so far as possible) first-hand knowledge of the ancient authorities and a critical examination of their dates. Now the authorities which I find adduced in Mr. Gladstone's essay are not ancient at all, except in the case of the Greek and Hebrew writings (i.e. the Greek Homer and Herodotus and the English Old Testament). Canon Rawlinson's *Ancient Religions* and George Smith's *Assyrian Discoveries*, Sir Gardner Wilkinson's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (first published in 1837-41), Haug's *Essays on the Sacred Language, &c., of the Parsees* (first published in 1862), and Duncker's *History of Antiquity*, certainly do not supply an adequate basis for the discussion of our subject. The ancient books and inscriptions themselves (in the best translations) ought in the first instance to have been consulted, and then recourse should have been had to the most recent leading specialists, such as Brugsch, Maspero, Renouf, Schrader, Delitzsch, Sayce, Pinches, Haupt, Winckler,

* Dante, *Purgatory*, iii. 8, 9.

† I mention the former because his able and interesting popular work on the Psalms has a position in England which would surprise German scholars (see e.g., Bishop Alexander's *Bampton Lectures on the Psalms*), and the latter because of a reference made to him by Mr. Gladstone in his *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*. If Wellhausen should some day enter into a critical discussion of the Psalter, his English colleagues will no doubt listen to him with keen interest. But it is at present a mistake to connect the name of Wellhausen specially with the Psalter.

‡ Dante, *Purgatory*, xxii. 28-30.

* Dante, *Paradise*, iv. 130-132.

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Darmesteter, Mills, Spiegel, Geldner. And there is another defect which I venture respectfully to point out. It was unwise to admit Egypt (fascinating as all Egyptian things are) within the range of comparison, partly because there is still so much divergence of opinion on the course of Egyptian religion, and partly because of the fundamental contrast between Egyptian pantheism and Jewish theism. I may add that there is in my judgment no period at which a close historical connection between the Egyptian and the Jewish beliefs can be safely presumed.*

It is equally doubtful whether the beliefs of early Greece deserved to be so prominently mentioned. Mr. Gladstone himself suggests that the conception of the Underworld in the *Odyssey* contains many 'exotic' elements, and boldly traces the story of Gany-mêdes in the *Iliad* to a Hebrew origin (pp. 662, 665). Would it not have been better to devote any surplus of space to some interesting phenomena of the later popular beliefs of the Greeks? Not, of course, that these are historically connected with the beliefs of the Israelites, but the development of the Greek belief in immortality may very possibly throw light upon that of the analogous Jewish (and Christian) belief. I could wish at any rate that Mr. Gladstone had made some honourable mention of Pindar. As a preserver and a sanctifier of traditional stories, this noble poet strikingly resembles the old Hebrew narrators of the school of the prophets; † in his view of the things after death he is even, from a Christian point of view, superior to them. 'I will go down to Sheol to my son mourning,' says Jacob (Gen. xxxvii. 35); the narrator has no more idea either of an earthly or of a heavenly Paradise awaiting the righteous than the author of the Exilic or early post-Exilic poem of Job. In Pindar's second Olympic, however, we certainly find the belief in future retribution, ‡ and in one of the fragments of the Dirges we have that remarkable passage, the prelude of later spiritualism:—

* M. Renan, as it appears to me, indulges somewhat too freely in Egyptian illustrations of early Israelitish usages. Still, even if we could accept all or most of his suggestions, it would scarcely oblige me to modify the above statements. The relation between the early Egyptian and the contemporary popular Israelitish religion is altogether different from that between the late Egyptian and the contemporary popular Christian religion. M. Renan himself admits that the early Hebrews would have found Egyptian ideas on the future lot of the soul 'in a high degree unseemly' (*Histoire d'Israël*, i. 130).

† The parallel becomes all the closer if, as we are assured, the idea of a future retribution, which was so vital to Æschylus and Pindar, was utterly alien to the contemporary popular belief. These poets had in this case something of the prophetic character, like the great Hebrew narrators.

‡ Pind. *Ol.* ii. 109-140.

καὶ σῶμα μὲν πάντων ἐπεται θανάτῳ περισθενεῖ,
ζῶν δ' ἐτι λείπεται αἰῶνος εἰδωλόν· τὸ γὰρ ἔστι μόνον
ἐκ θεῶν.*

Even if he had mentioned nothing else, Mr. Gladstone surely might have supplemented *Il.* xx. 232-235 by Pind. *Ol.* i. 41-46, where Pelops and Gany-mêdes share the same heavenly honours. Had my critic hit upon this combination, he might perhaps have seen reason to think that the Homeric stories of Gany-mêdes and Menelaus (*Od.* iv. 569) are chiefly valuable as affording fresh evidence for the widespread early belief that some fortunate men might even escape the common lot of souls. In these stories would seem to be the germ, not indeed of the cult of the 'heroes' which, by the time of the Persian wars, had attained such vast dimensions, but at any rate of that glorification of the lot of the virtuous dead which connected itself with that cult in later times. Immortality in the early ages of Greece was an aristocratic privilege; in the later times (not surely in all respects times of decadence) it was thrown open to the common people.† Will Mr. Gladstone permit me to think that religious belief took a similar course (not indeed without one important divergence) in Palestine? I fear not. Yet Professor Mozley said, as long ago as 1877, that 'if one had to describe shortly the defect of recent criticism upon the Old Testament, one would say that it did not make allowance for the necessities of a progressive revelation.'‡ This great Anglican divine was referring no doubt to the older rationalism, but his words may be worth pondering, even by those who are most opposed to that form of thought.

I pass on to my critic's treatment of the evidence supplied by the Old Testament. He thinks that 'the doctrine of a future state,' though it 'nowhere entered into the prescriptions of the Mosaic law, and is not directly declared and inculcated in the earliest Scriptures,' yet 'probably subsisted among the Hebrews as a private opinion' (p. 669). But he also believes, as appears from a passage on p. 664 quoted above (p. 952), that 'the public service taught this doctrine' in the six temple-hymns already mentioned. I do not understand how these two sentences can be reconciled. If the *lex orandi* is the *lex credendi*, surely those who used the psalms in question did not merely

* *Fragm.* xevi. 2-4.

† See the evidence collected from the inscriptions by Carl Lehrs, *Aufsätze*, p. 337, &c.; and comp. Weil's review of Rohde's important work, *Psyche*; 'Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen' (Part I.), in the *Journal des Savants*, October 1890.

‡ *Ruling Ideas of the Early Ages*, p. 80.

express their 'private opinion;' they, in the proper sense of the word, believed in immortality. And if so, surely this belief *did*, 'form a part of those truths which the Jewish people were appointed to maintain and to transmit.' Again: it appears from p. 664 that Mr. Gladstone finds the same faith expressed (1) in Ex. iii. 6, 'I am the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob,' (2) in Gen. v. 24, 'For God took him' (viz. Enoch), (3) in 2 Kings ii. 11, 'And Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven,' and (4) in the prohibition of necromancy (Deut. xviii. 11) and the story of the witch of Endor (valuable evidence of popular belief). My critic seems for the moment to forget that Ex. iii. 6, in its strict philological sense, will not bear the interpretation which he, as a devout Christian, puts upon it.* But, even were it otherwise, the assumed fact that the three patriarchs, and also Enoch and Elijah, escaped the common lot of souls, cannot prove much as to the existence of the idea of immortality among the Israelites, while the passages referred to under the fourth head distinctly prove that it was practically unknown, at any rate to the people at large. M. Montet's recent article† may contain serious errors, but this statement at any rate is true—and I know that the late Professor Mozley would have heartily accepted it—that 'Sheól is the negation of life.' To attempt to refute the theory that the 'intuition of immortality' arose late in Jewish history by pointing to the popular belief in Sheól, is a confession of weakness. The 'intuition' and the 'belief' (I will not call them both by the same name) are wide as the poles asunder. The one is the concentration of all happiness; the other (from an advanced moral point of view), of all misery. The one stimulates to the highest efforts of virtue, the other conduces (as the psalms sufficiently show) to selfish tyranny and practical atheism on the part of the rich, and to an ever-recurring fear and despondency on the part of the poor. Ps. xlix. cannot be fully appreciated till we view it as incidentally (like some passages in the Book of Enoch) a protest against the old Hebrew belief in Sheól.

Let me turn now to Mr. Gladstone's three theses (p. 660), and state the judgment which I have been led to form of them. The first—that the movement of ideas in

the human race was a retrograde and not a forward movement—seems to be not properly an historical but a theological doctrine, and most recent theologians of the Reformed communities, who have been trained in historical principles, would agree in rejecting it. The second—that the belief in a future life worthy of the name, though not prominent even in the psalms, is referred to in some passages of the Old Testament—is true, but is contested by no one. The evidence adduced for it appears, moreover, to be both inaccurate and incomplete. The third—that the Hebrew race had no special mission to proclaim 'the truth concerning a future state,' and that possibly 'more may have been done for its maintenance by certain of the Gentile religions'—is also true, and well deserves to be pressed on the Christian public, though here, too, Mr. Gladstone's facts may need both revision and enlargement, and above all the application of a more critical method. I will ask leave to make but one observation on each of the three theses, and then pass on to two questions which my critic has done me the honour to address to me.

I find it, then, a significant fact that Mr. Gladstone still holds that ancient religion was in some sense dogmatic, i.e. that it consisted essentially in a certain 'precious knowledge,' which, as young mankind 'could hardly [why this qualification?] have discovered' it for itself, was graciously imparted to it by the Almighty, that fragments of this primeval revelation are to be found in 'the earliest Scriptures,' and other fragments, in a more or less corrupt state, in the 'Gentile religions.' This was no doubt the 'fittest' to 'survive' of all the theological theories which in the pre-critical period* sought to account for the parallelisms between the various religions. It has been treated by Professor Max Müller as antiquated, but it will scarcely become so until a free but devout criticism of the Old Testament is more generally practised by Church theologians.

It is perhaps not less noteworthy that Mr. Gladstone, though he regards the argument of the *Divine Legation* as 'fair and probable' (p. 665), is not favourably inclined (so at least I infer) to Bishop Warburton's critical principles. These were crude enough, no doubt; but they contained the promise of that development which we see going on around us among Christian

* I am not opposed to developing the spiritual truth latent in these words, and see no reason whatever why the same principle should not be carried out elsewhere in the Old Testament (or in any other literary records), provided that these developments be not used for historical purposes.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October 1890; cf. *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 425, 461, 462.

* See, in the seventeenth century, Theophilus Gale, *The Court of the Gentiles*, Thomas Hyde, *Veterum Persarum Religionis Historia*; Lord Herbert of Chesham, *De Religione Gentilium*.

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scholars. The chief historical result to which they led this acute writer was one which few critics of our day would care to deny, viz. that the Jews 'learned the [higher] doctrine of a future state some small time after their thorough re-establishment [in Palestine].'*

My third observation will, I hope, be altogether pleasing to my critic. Whereas Bishop Warburton angrily declared that 'not one of that numerous rabble of revelations ever pretended to come from the First Cause, or taught the worship of the one God,'† Mr. Gladstone continues the nobler tradition of Cudworth and Stillingfleet. He evidently believes that the comparative study of religions is not merely a secular science, but a necessary part of theology. One is thankful for Mr. Gladstone's cautiously-expressed opinion, for though the study of religions has long attracted the charmed attention of a few theologians, this has not yet borne much fruit for the Church. The theologians have been almost too timorous, not being aware that there was a growing interest in their subject among the laity. The younger generation, both clerical and lay, is getting bolder. The cry is already heard that a broader and deeper view of inspiration should be more generally preached in our pulpits and taught in our higher schools. The religion of the Bible must no longer be isolated from every other, but its analogies and contrasts to other religions must form part of a religious education. One may venture to hope that Mr. Gladstone will not be repelled by these demands, which recognise the element of truth in his own long-cherished theory of a primeval revelation, and the granting of which can but contribute to a bolder and a stronger faith.

Before passing to Mr. Gladstone's two questions, I will only remark that, from his triumphant tone, he hardly appears to realise the seriousness with which historical theologians regard their duties. He seems to look upon them as well-meaning theorists, who have no sound practical judgment and little intellectual grasp, and who amuse themselves with fancies, of which a vigorous common-sense will soon disclose the emptiness. At any rate, this is one of the current estimates of the newer theology, and it cannot but exercise a certain influence upon the theologians themselves. For popularity is always grateful, and they would certainly please many outside critics

better by eschewing comprehensive theorising and withdrawing into the domain of so-called facts. Now there can be no objection whatever to the collection of facts; indeed, the newer theology is distinguished by nothing so much as a respect for facts. But there are times when even the most enthusiastic collectors of facts must pause, and devote themselves to comprehensive theorising about the facts, and such a time we have reached in the study of the Old Testament. There are, of course, difficulties attendant upon every critical theory (whether Homer or the Bible be the subject), but let not Mr. Gladstone suppose that Old Testament scholars have waited for him to propound such difficulties to them. They are provided with answers, sometimes complete, sometimes incomplete, deserving a respectful attention, and not to be blown away by an adverse gale of untrained common-sense. They welcome objections made in the right spirit, because they believe that their study has a real bearing on the welfare of the Christian Church, and they desire the laity to show its perception of this. But they would venture to point out that a certain degree of knowledge and experience is necessary to make useful objections. Even a practised New Testament scholar is not necessarily a good judge of Old Testament problems, the conditions of which, as Professor Sanday has often remarked to me, are so different from those of the New. Need I add that a Homeric scholar may also have to pass through a short apprenticeship in order to make objections fruitfully?

Mr. Gladstone's two questions are:—

Have we not then to wait for the evidence which is to show that the doctrine of immortality would have been too great a strain for the Hebrews at the reputed era of the composition of the Psalms under David and Solomon?

And—

Even were such evidence to be forthcoming on behalf of the general proposition, we should still have to ask how it is known, or why it is to be believed, that the idea of immortality was made known to the Hebrews from Persian sources (p. 663).

The first of these questions was suggested by my own remark that the ascription of the Psalms to the Persian period (I put aside the question as to psalms of the early Greek and Maccabæan periods) conduces to 'the interests not merely of critical progress, but of religion,' because it involves a 'great strain upon faith' to suppose that the hope of immortality was known in the times of David and Solomon. Mr. Glad-

* Warburton, *Divine Legation*, Bk. VI. sect. 2 (*Works*, v. 357).

† Warburton, *Works*, iv. 74.

stone unconsciously gives a little twist to my language, transferring the supposed 'strain' to the Israelites (so again on p. 673), which has the effect of burdening me with a theory of revelation which I do not accept. The phenomena of revelation are indeed, I admit, no illusions. The 'man of God' is 'taken hold of' by Another, but not without his own will and the co-operation of his highest faculties. A genuine revelation must be proportionate to the mental and moral state of the person receiving it, or a psychological exegesis such as is now being founded among us becomes impossible. Mr. Gladstone will pardon me if I infer too much from his language (p. 671), and wrongly address to him the protest against an excessive supernaturalism which I find dramatically introduced in one of his own essays.* He certainly appears to me to have misread his 'text' under the influence of a too mechanical theory of revelation. I spoke designedly not of a 'doctrine' but of an 'intuition' of immortality, to indicate the human element which blends in revelation with the divine, and the 'strain upon faith' of which I spoke had reference to us and not to the Israelites. Does Mr. Gladstone want evidence that this 'strain upon faith' exists? Colonel Ingersoll, or any of our own secularists, would be only too ready to provide him with it. Or take the famous article on David in the Dictionary of Pierre Bayle, which excited such a warm controversy in the last century. In it I find these words:—

David's piety is so conspicuous in his psalms and in several of his actions, that it cannot be sufficiently admired. There is one thing which is no less admirable in his conduct—to wit, that he could so happily (!) reconcile so much piety with the loose maxims of the art of reigning.†

Now it is certain that a thorough study of the early records of the life of David in the light of a critical analysis and in an historical spirit introduces us to the most attractive character of ancient Israel, and even permits us to regard David as in his degree a herald of spiritual religion. But it also forbids us to believe that any of the psalms, as they now stand, were written by David. Indeed, even without appealing to criticism, the perusal of 1 Sam. xvi.—1 Kings ii. 11 makes the traditional view difficult in the extreme. For a living faith in immortality presupposes a development of the moral nature such as we do not find in the David of the narratives. And if the 'strain upon faith' is not yet sufficiently proved,

let us carry on our reading as far as the works of Isaiah the son of Amoz. Do we find any trace of the hope of immortality there? Yes; but only of the immortality of the nation. Are we then to suppose that Isaiah, having the larger hope in himself, suppressed it out of regard to his dull audience? or that his works are a full repertory of the highest hopes and aspirations of his time? Can there be a doubt as to the right answer? But what a 'strain upon faith' to suppose that the David of the Books of Samuel possessed that larger hope of which Isaiah himself was ignorant!

Nor can this argument be met by referring, with Mr. Gladstone (p. 673), to the Egyptian and Iranian peoples as having been familiar with 'the doctrine of immortality' before the time of David. Let us suppose for the moment that there is an early Egyptian doctrine of immortality which can be compared with that of the higher parts of the Bible: how does this make it easier to believe that such a 'doctrine' was current in the Davidic age? For the hieroglyphic texts prove, at any rate, that the moral and mental development of the early Egyptians was far in advance of that of David and his contemporaries. It would have been wiser in my critic to confine his reference to the Iranians, whose prophet Zarathustra is placed by Haug, West, Mills, and Geldner, on satisfactory grounds, in a period anterior to David. That Zarathustra was indeed a living, earnestly striving, and holy man, who had received a prophetic call from the true God known to him as the Omniscient Lord (*Ahura Mazda*), is clear from the Gāthās. If Mr. Gladstone had but read and meditated on these ancient hymns (of which we have now an amply sufficient translation, with commentary, in the *Sacred Books of the East*), he would have been able, from his own point of view, to strengthen his argument considerably. For a belief in immortality, strongly akin to the Christian, so pervades the Gāthās that it is quite impossible by analysis to discover any oldest portions from which it is absent. Mr. Gladstone might first have challenged me to prove that the Eastern Iranians whom Zarathustra taught were morally and mentally superior to the Israelites contemporary with David, and then asked me why the same 'precious knowledge' should not have been divinely 'imparted' to David which the Gāthās prove to have been possessed by Zarathustra. My reply would, however, have been ready. I admit that what is asked can only be proved by exe-

* Gladstone, *Gleanings of Past Years*, iii. 46.

† Bayle, *Historical Dictionary* (Lond. 1736), iv. 535.

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getical evidence from the Gáthás, which, from the nature of the case, cannot be as immediately convincing as the direct positive statements of the narratives in Samuel. I do not think, however, that any student of the Gáthás will question what I now bring forward. The Eastern or North-Eastern Iranians, among whom Zarathustra laboured, were a law-abiding, industrious population, who not only contended earnestly for their faith against the Daéva*-worshippers, but proved its soundness by the fruits of good living. For it was a moral as well as a religious movement in which they had engaged, and the immortality which their prophet promised was a spiritual blessing, reserved for the faithful worshippers of Mazda. The very imperfections and crudeness of the Gáthás prove that they are no mere forgeries, but were adapted to the moral and mental state of the people. There is no reason, therefore, to doubt that the followers of Zarathustra were both morally and mentally superior to the Israelites of the Davidic age; and Mr. Gladstone's appeal to the early date of Zarathustra's teaching must be rejected.

Mr. Gladstone's second question I must beg leave to recast, because in its present form it misrepresents my theory.† I must, of course, be specially careful myself not to burden Mr. Gladstone with any assumption unpalatable to him. What he really wants to know is probably this: What ground is there for supposing that, even if the hope of immortality first became current among the Jews in the late Persian period, this was in any degree due to Zoroastrian influence? Even as thus recast, the inquiry appears to me somewhat strange. Mr. Gladstone willingly recognises a large Hellenic 'intellectual factor' in 'the new dispensation of Christianity' (p. 671); why should he hesitate to admit at least a moderate Persian influence on the religion of the Jewish Church? There were, no doubt, native Israelitish germs of the later hope of immortality; but why did not Jeremiah or the Second Isaiah bring them to light and develop their latent meaning? Evidently help was required from without; more advanced religious thinkers had to assist the slow but highly receptive Jewish mind. Still, I will endeavour to answer Mr. Gladstone, and I will do this, not by referring him to books and articles which he may not have time to read, but by a very brief summary of the facts and considerations

which I have already brought forward elsewhere.

Let me take as my starting-point a very just and significant remark of Mr. Gladstone. 'The Captivity,' he says, 'was not a Persian but a Babylonian captivity.' It is true that the Jehovah (Yahvè) of the Second Isaiah has a specially close resemblance to the Ahura Mazda of Zoroastrianism, but this is no proof of any historical connection between the two conceptions of God. If the deepened insight into the nature of God which meets us in the Second Isaiah was in any degree helped by foreign stimulus, that stimulus must have come from Babylon. The fact that the Babylonians and the Israelites who sojourned in their midst acquired similar ideas of the divine nature about the same time suggests that there may have been some religious intercourse between them.* Advanced Old Testament criticism has made it highly probable that some of the early narratives in Genesis, written shortly before and during the Exile, are partly of Babylonian origin; it is not unreasonable to hold that the higher Jewish conception of Jehovah was at any rate promoted to some extent by the higher Babylonian conception of Marduk. Towards the end of the Exile, I know, any friendly feeling which the Jews may have had for Babylon gave place to hatred; it is not for the religion of Babylon, but for that of Persia (represented by Cyrus), that the Second Isaian expresses a general sympathy. But in earlier years, when Jeremiah's advice (Jer. xxix. 7) was fully carried out, it was probably different. Nor was it only the nature of God, but the future lot of the soul, on which the Jewish exiles seem to have formed ideas akin to that of their masters. I admit that Babylonian ideas on a future state may have reached the Israelites through the Canaanites long before;‡ indeed, we may partly thus account for the splendid close of the story of Elijah (2 Kings ii. 11), which is, of course, a pre-Exilic work. But it is more than probable that the belief in the possibility of escaping death (or of escaping out of death, for the two ideas were not sharply distinguished) was strengthened by a revived acquaintance with Babylonian myths, like that of Sisinapisim or 'Xisuthrus' during the Exile. Now, granting this, it becomes all the easier

* Bampton Lectures, 1889, p. 269.

† The letters sent by kings and governors of Western Asia to the Pharaohs Amenôphis the Third and Amenôphis the Fourth (see *Records of the Past*, iv. 57, &c.) prove that before the Egyptian conquest, and before the rise of the Assyrian kingdom, Babylonian culture had spread to the shores of the Mediterranean. Religious myths must have formed a part of this culture.

* Il s'agit de l'indo-iranien *dāra* "dieu," sanscrit *dēva*, devenu en zend *daēva* "démon." Darmesteter, *Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 265.

† See above, p. 953.

to admit that in due time a still greater influence was exercised upon the Jews by the Persians.

Mr. Gladstone deals with the theory of Persian influence in three sentences (pp. 663-4). He draws a distinction between Magianism and Zoroastrianism, and quotes Haug as denying the adoption by the Jews of Persian words on the subject of religion. But as to the first point, viz. that Persian influence in the Achaemenian period would promote Magianism rather than Zoroastrianism, Mr. Gladstone has, I fear, misunderstood his authorities. I am well aware of the difficulties connected with the history of early Mazda-worship, but few contemporary critics would care to deny that the ideas and sacred texts of Achaemenian Mazda-worship are in the main reproduced in the Avesta.* Even M. de Harlez, whose theological tendencies are somewhat similar to Mr. Gladstone's, sums up thus: 'The result is that the Gāthās are the exclusive work of the Magi, and that the Avesta owes to them the greater part of its contents and its ultimate form.'† Now as to the second point. It would, no doubt, add strength to our argument if we had other linguistic proofs of the religious influence of the Persians upon the Jews besides the derivation of Asmodeus (see Tobit) from Aeshma-dēva. But the value of linguistic proofs may easily be exaggerated, for even when words are borrowed, the significations do not always remain the same. The attributes of the demon Asmodeus are in fact not altogether those of the Zend Aeshma-dēva. But I need not linger on this point; the reality of Zoroastrian influence upon Judaism is now generally recognised. The post-Exilic angelology and demonology of the Jews assumed more and more a Persian colouring; the belief in Satan, for instance, may be thoroughly Hebraic, and yet it would hardly have grown up as it did without the indirect influence of the belief in Ahriman against which it was a protest. So too the ancient blessing called *yōṣēr ōr* had no doubt a polemical reference to Zoroastrianism, and yet the custom of reciting it at dawn was no doubt influenced by a similar Zoroastrian ordinance.‡ And though the establishment of the Law as the basis of Jewish national life was of course justified by the parallel of Deuteronomy (2 Kings xxii., xxiii.), yet we can hardly doubt that Ezra the scribe was partly influenced by the

existence of the great 'book-religion' of Persia. And can we stop short here? There is indeed no necessity to suppose that the conception of God was affected (except very indirectly through the Satan-belief) by the Zoroastrian faith, but that of a future state surely may have been. Take the idea of the resurrection for instance. If Isaiah xxiv.-xxvii. was written, as Professor Driver supposed in 1888, on the eve of the Captivity, we might suppose that it was a gifted prophet's inference from the firmly believed promise of the national restoration. But if, as this excellent scholar now admits, it is a post-Exilic work, it becomes at once possible that Persian influence assisted its development. Or take the idea of the immortality of the soul. If the six psalms mentioned at the beginning of this article are pre-Exilic, we must either deny that there is any reference in them to immortality, or, if we venture to admit such a reference, we must explain it on the same principle as in the former case. At any rate, as Professor Kuenen remarks, speaking of my own recent theories, we must, in accounting for the higher Jewish developments, consider the possibility not only of Hellenic but of Persian influences.*

The subject is indeed one of much greater importance than Mr. Gladstone's remarks would suggest. We are just at the beginning of a momentous historical discussion as to the character and origin of essential Christianity, and we cannot get very much further than Dr. Hatch has carried us without an investigation of the character and origin of pre-Christian Judaism. It has often been said that even the New Testament writings contain an Hellenic element, and Professor Pfeiderer has expressed the opinion that 'Hellenic eschatology had influenced the general belief of the Jews in the time of Jesus through the channel of Essenism.' These ideas are in the air; and though Dr. Hatch has not expressly said so, we cannot doubt that he would have admitted an unconscious Hellenism in parts of the New Testament. I think myself that this theory, under due limitations, is in a high degree probable, and I would ask if an infiltration of Hellenism into Palestinian Judaism does not become much more intelligible if more or less similar Oriental influences had gone before. I would even go further and inquire whether the Jewish Hellenistic philosophy of Alexandria is not more easily accounted for, if the Jews who, willingly or by compulsion, en-

* Cf. Darmesteter, *Zendavesta* ('Sacred Books of the East'), Part I. Introd. p. liii.

† De Harlez, *Avesta*, Introd. p. cxvii.

‡ Bampton Lectures, 1889, p. 272, 448.

* *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, September 1891, p. 503.

tered Egypt under the early Ptolemies had been already in some slight degree Zoroastrianised.

For the elaboration of this theory of a partial Zoroastrianising of post-Exilic Judaism I must refer to the writings already referred to. In considering it, the reader will kindly remember the limitations under which I hold it. 1. It is not till the latter part of the Persian rule that I suppose Zoroastrian influences to have been strongly felt, or at any rate to have affected the higher religious literature. The leaders of the Church-nation and those who wrote for its edification were naturally slow in sanctioning non-Jewish influence. 2. I do not suppose the Jews to have read the Zoroastrian writings, though I refer to those writings, and especially the Gâthâs, as a repository of Zoroastrian ideas. It must be remembered that the ideas of book-religions are not propagated even now exclusively by their sacred writings. 3. Zoroastrian influence was generally limited by Jewish pre-suppositions. The only exceptions to be made have relation to popular superstitions. 4. Indirectly Persia must have influenced the Jews throughout her vast empire, but directly not so much the Jews in Palestine as the large Israelitish colonies on the east of the Euphrates and the Tigris, which, however, must have transmitted the results to the Jews in Palestine.* 5. I assume that Isa. xxiv.-xxvii. (chapters which contain references to the annihilation of death and the resurrection of dead Israelites) were written not very early in the Persian period, that the Book of Daniel was composed at the beginning of the Maccabæan rising (B.C. 164), and that the psalms (or all the psalms but the eighteenth) were written during the Persian and early Greek periods. These dates I believe to be a close approximation to the true ones. Even with regard to the psalms, critics will soon probably be agreed that in their present forms few, if any, are earlier than the Exile. It may no doubt be possible for some critics to hold a Davidic element (which they will seldom, however, be able to indicate), or at any rate an element derived from the age of Jeremiah. But the most plausible view, because the most consistent with the other results which are forcing themselves upon impartial critics, is, I venture to think, that which I have adopted. 6. I am far from supposing that a primary reference in the psalms to immortality or the resurrection can be made out with certainty. But, as a Jewish critic

observes, 'if there be psalms of the Maccabæan age, they would certainly agree, as to the immortality of the soul, with the Pharisees;' * and the same remark may be extended, as I believe, to some at least of the psalms of the Persian age. Only, as the hope of immortality was not universally accepted, it is natural to expect that even those psalmists who themselves held it would express themselves in such a way as to edify even those who had less mature thoughts. 'Not merely because they were Eastern poets, but in obedience probably to the law of charity, they used vague expressions which needed to be explained mentally from the stock of ideas which the worshippers brought with them. To those whose religious position was the comparatively dry and meagre one of the older orthodoxy of Israel, those expressions had a dry and meagre sense; but to those who were being led to the confines of a nobler faith the same words acquired a depth of significance which the older interpreters only erred in making too logically definite.'

But I have already tried my respected critic's patience too long. I will conclude with an expression of sympathy with him in his great object of improving the historical defence of Christianity, and not less with the two translators of the *Avesta* in the *Sacred Books of the East* in their efforts to promote a better appreciation of the religion of the 'Omniscient Lord.' I dare not say that the two religions, or even that Judaism and Zoroastrianism are on an equality, but I may be thankful that when the appointed time for the blending of the Aryan and the Semitic mind had come, the ideas of Zarathustra had not become too much overlaid to be helpful in the process. And I cannot but recognise that had there been in Iran a succession of spiritual prophets like Zarathustra, the chief factor in the religion of the future might have been not Semitic, but Aryan.

THE REUNION OF CHRISTENDOM.

BY CARDINAL MANNING, PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D., AND REV. JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D.

From *The Review of the Churches* (London), November, 1891.

HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL MANNING.

MY DEAR DR. LUNN,—I will not again refuse to send you a few words, but it is

* *Bampton Lectures*, 1889, p. 281.

* Isidore Loeb, *Revue des études juives*, avril-juin 1890, p. 163.

difficult for me to do more than listen to the voices which are reviewing "the Churches."

In May, 1848, I saw and spoke for the first time with Pius IX. He questioned me at length about the Christianity of England, and about the multiplicity of good and charitable works done by Anglicans and Dissenters, ending with the Quakers and the great prison reformation of Mrs. Fry. He then leaned back in his chair, and said, as if to himself, "The English do a multitude of good works; and when men do good works God always pours out His grace. My poor prayers are offered day by day for England." Since that time every year has multiplied all kinds of good works in England. There can be no doubt that an especial power of the Holy Ghost has breathed and is still breathing over our people. I gladly repeat the words of Pius IX., for I rejoice over the good works which cover the face of our country. My daily prayer is for England, and so far as it has been in my power I have shared your good works and united with your peaceful and beneficent aims. In the words which open your first number I heartily agree. You say, "The tendency of religion in our day is towards union." There has grown up in the last fifty years a vivid sense or instinct that division is evil, and the source of evils. The desire and prayers for the reunion of Christendom have created movements and organizations both in the Anglican and in the Dissenting bodies, and your *Review of the Churches* is its latest and most resolute manifestation.

When I held back from writing as one of your contributors it was not from any slackness in desiring that all our hearts may be drawn into unity, but from unwillingness to strike a note out of harmony with you. You have many ways of seeking union. We have but one. Union in good works has indeed a constraining moral influence in bringing the most remote men together, and charity is a way to Truth: "If any man will do His will he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." This is a safe course for those who are divided from each other. Controversy repels, but charity unites. Your present action cannot fail to bring many minds into closer union of good-will.

But this is neither our need nor our method. Union is not unity. And unity is not the creation of human wills, but of the Divine. It does not spring up from the earth: it descends from heaven. St. Cyprian truly describes it as the raiment of

our Lord, "without seam, woven from the top throughout by heavenly sacraments." It is Truth that generates Unity, and it can be recovered only by the same principle and from the same source from which it descended in the beginning.

Mr. Price Hughes has quoted, he says with surprise, some words of mine from a book on the "Internal Mission of the Holy Ghost." There was no need for surprise; for these words are only the Catholic doctrine of the universality of Grace. And they presuppose the doctrine of the visible Church, which has not only a visible body, but also an invisible soul. The soul of the Church is as old as Abel, and as wide as the race of mankind. It embraces every soul of man who has lived, or at least has died, in union with God by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost. Nearly thirty years ago I published all this in answer to my friend, the late Dr. Pusey, in a letter on "The Workings of the Spirit in the Church of England." This letter has been lately reprinted by Messrs. Burns and Oates. Thus far then I can lay a basis on which to write and to hope with all your contributors. We believe that the Holy Ghost breathes throughout the world, and gathers into union with God, and to eternal life, all those who faithfully co-operate with His light and grace. None are responsible for dying *inculpably* out of the visible Body of the Church. They only are culpable who knowingly and wilfully reject its divine voice when sufficiently known to them. But I must not go on, for you are seeking union in agreements, and I have no will to strike a discordant note. You say truly "the controversies to which most of our Churches owe their rise have lost much of their interest for us; some of them are hardly intelligible."

I have two great advantages. I can hope and embrace you in the Soul of the Church, and I can rejoice in all, and gladly share in many of your good works.

May the Holy Ghost renew His own unity in Truth!

Believe me, my dear Dr. Lunn,

Yours very truly,

HENRY E. CARD. MANNING.

Archbishop's House, October 30th, 1891.

REV. PROFESSOR A. B. BRUCE, D.D.

The Reunion of the Churches, what a boon! "I tell you of a truth," said Jesus to His disciples, "there be some standing here, which shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God." What

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would one not give to be able to say with equal confidence, "There be some now living who shall not taste of death till they see the divisions of the Church healed." Such a sight would mean the kingdom of God come. How happy one would be to witness even a small instalment of the grand consummation: say the reunion of the Scottish Presbyterian Church! What a burden to the spirit of a man who has learned thoroughly the mind of Christ to live in days of religious alienations and embitterments! How often one is tempted to wish that his lot had been cast in a time when there was only one church in the land, and all the people, high and low, rich and poor, met together for divine worship in the one parish church, and the distinction between Churchmen and Dissenters was unknown. Richard Baxter said, "Except the case of the infidel world, nothing is so sad to my thoughts as the case of the divided churches." We who live in the nineteenth century may utter the same sentiment with an emphasis increased by the knowledge that the two cases alluded to by Baxter are very closely allied: that the divisions of the Church are a fruitful cause of infidelity.

Personally I am a Broad Churchman in my ecclesiastical views, though by accident connected with a Nonconformist denomination holding very strict principles as to the conditions of church fellowship. I could without any trouble to my conscience belong to, and even be a minister in, any one of a dozen or a score of churches, if they would allow me, and give me liberty to speak and act according to my convictions. I think all the forms of church government legitimate and good when they are well worked out, and the reverse of good when they are mismanaged, as they all have been. I do not believe in elaborate creeds as terms of communion. I should gladly be in the same church with men belonging to an entirely different theological school from myself; if half a dozen different schools were represented within the same communion, so much the richer it would be.

Whence these tragic, disastrous alienations? Why is Christendom to so lamentable an extent a house divided against itself to its own fatal hurt, and the dishonour of the Christian name? Why is the Church, to speak plainly, a ghastly failure? A full answer to these questions would demand a volume, but a rudimentary yet far-reaching answer may be given in a sentence. The radical cause of separation is *legalism*. It is very significant that Paul in his Epistle

to the Galatians, on first mentioning the sonship of Christians, proceeds immediately after to speak of the new society based on the Christian faith as one in which is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all are one in Christ. It is easy to find the missing link between the two topics. In Paul's view the first and fundamental privilege of sonship is deliverance from the bondage of the law. But the law was the great barrier between Jews and Gentiles; that removed, there was nothing to prevent them being united in a Christian brotherhood on equal terms. This was the first historical instance of the connection between the spirit of sonship and the spirit of catholicity. But it is not the only possible application of the principle. The tendency of the legal spirit is to multiply causes of separation, both in religious faith and in religious practice; in the former by increasing needlessly the number of "fundamentals," in the latter by erecting every petty scruple about meats and drinks, and social customs, and forms of worship to the dignity of a principle separating from all who do not conform thereto. The legal spirit is essentially anti-catholic, and manifests itself as such in a thousand different ways. On the other hand, the spirit of sonship is eminently catholic; craves for fellowship with all who are sons of God by faith in Jesus Christ; and would, if it could, sweep away all the artificial barriers which legalism has set up between those who are one in Christ. What a change would come over the face of Christendom if the *spirit of Adoption* were poured out in abundant measure on all who bear the Christian name!

Blame must be distributed impartially among all sections of the Christian Church. Legalism has assumed two chief forms: sacramentalism and dogmatism. Sacramental legalism, with all that goes along with it, is the vice of the Roman Catholic Church and all other churches kindred to it in spirit and tendency. Dogmatic legalism is the besetting sin of Protestantism. Salvation by sacraments and priests is the watchword of the one, salvation by orthodoxy is the watchword of the other. *Hinc illae lacrymae*. Both alike sin against the spirit of Christ and the true genius of Christianity. Sacramentalism and dogmatism are Antichrists, and till they are both destroyed there is no hope of reunion.

Optimistic in temper and tendency, I am not, never have been, hopeful of reunion on the great scale, or even on the small. The unification of Christendom is too high

for me, my most sanguine moods cannot attain unto such a lofty thought. I should die happy if I lived to see so modest a consummation as the reconstruction of the Scottish Presbyterian Church. There is no present prospect of it, there is not much of the temper that makes union possible, or of the spirit that makes union worth having. For the merely mechanical combination of two or more ecclesiastical bodies is not a consummation devoutly to be wished; it is more a political than a religious result. Possibly even such a union, if it could be brought about, would be better than the present miserable condition of things with its rival churches in every village, and petty jealousies and enmities all over the land. The two dry sticks representing Israel and Judah, on being placed end to end, were to become one in Ezekiel's hand. The prophetic parable is in favour of the policy of uniting even dry lifeless ecclesiastical bodies, in hope that after mechanical juxtaposition would come sooner or later a real vital spiritual union and communion. But that is no reason why churchmen should postpone the practice of Christian charity towards each other till it has become their *interest* to love or seem to love one another as brethren, which is pretty much what we are doing just now, north of the Tweed.

The prospects of union on the great scale or on the small depend largely on what we principally wish. The wish, the fervent desire, the devout, sincere longing and prayer is, in the spiritual sphere, literally the father of the fact. Seek the kingdom of God with all your heart, and you have it in yourself. Seek it collectively with one mind and heart, and it will come eventually as a great social fact. What do we Christians want then? What do we dream of, talk about to friends, muse over in our solitary hours? Is it this grand ideal, the kingdom of Heaven: men the world over living in harmony and peace with God and with one another? Which are we putting first: Christ and the great universal Christian interest, or our own particular ecclesiastical denominations, our dearly cherished creeds, our provincial orthodoxies, and pet theological systems?

I have my fears for the future. I tremble lest the doom be pronounced on the churches, "Ephraim is joined to idols, let him alone." Among the possibilities of the future are the ejection of the existing churches as salt that has lost its savour, leaving a clear field for the spirit of Christ, incarnating itself in a wholly new organisation of whose constitution we know as lit-

tle as of the life beyond the tomb. No religious society likes to be told such plain truths. The tendency is to silence the prophet who dares to utter them. But nevertheless plain speaking is wholesome. We must remember the fate of the Jewish Church. For centuries it seemed as if the true religion could not dispense with Israel as its chosen home. Even Isaiah preached the inviolability of Zion in language as strong as that of Christ when He declared that the gates of Hades should not prevail against the Church about to be founded. Yet a century after another prophet came, whose not less inspired message to Israel was: trust ye not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord. The temple in which ye trust shall be destroyed by the Chaldeans.

An increasing amount of the moral salt of the community is taking its place outside of all the churches. The attitude of those without towards Christianity is various. Some look on it as a worn-out faith; others, and probably not a few, are Christian in faith and life, only they do not feel that the Church can do much for them: perhaps they very decidedly think that church fellowship would be rather a hindrance than a help to the life they desire to lead. These constitute a kind of invisible church on earth. In our schemes of reconstruction we must aim at including this church of the churchless. "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold, them also I must bring." It will be well to find out what they are thinking, why it is they hold aloof, what it is in our church life that makes them regard our fellowship with indifference, not to say aversion. Would it not be advisable to have them represented by deputation at our church congresses to give us a bit of their mind? Perhaps this is unnecessary. We know already what keeps many aloof. It is just what makes the Church of little real value to our own souls. All meditations on reunion must end in prayer, in confession of sin, and supplication for mercy and grace. Ah me! how little of Christ and how much of Rabbinism is in all the churches. "Wilt Thou not revive us again, that Thy people may rejoice in Thee? Show us Thy mercy, O Lord, and grant us Thy salvation."

A. B. BRUCE.

REV. JAMES MARTINEAU, D.D.

Dr. Martineau wrote the following as a private opinion on the discussion on Re-

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union, but has given us permission to publish it. Those who desire fuller information as to Dr. Martineau's views on this question will find them in the second volume of the *Essays, Reviews, and Addresses* recently published :

If I thought that the Union so greatly needed could be brought nearer by discussion among the parties now severed, I would gladly join in the debate. I send you my few words on a subject very dear to my heart. But so long as Christian communion founds itself upon specified concurrence of doctrinal opinion, so that each Church has its "orthodoxy" which it binds itself to guard, I feel persuaded that the more you convene and "interview" these varieties, though with a view to minimize their differences, the more will you deepen the sense of division. Union, as a power in life, depends on Love, Reverence, and Duty taking a direction in common, and not on intellectual judgments shaping themselves into the same proposition. The value of a defined belief—its freshness and efficacy—are contingent on its being personally earned by the individual, and in harmony with the needs of his character. But the power of a religion lies in the enthusiasm of a common adoration, trust and self-devotion to the infinitely Holy Will. A Christian Church fulfils its part when dedicated to the worship of the Heavenly Father and the furtherance of the Christian life ; and it is not entitled to include among its terms of communion any belief beyond what is implied for each member in these acts of piety and aspirations of conscience and love.

Till the Churches have shifted their base entirely off their *Creed Fundamentals*, and planted themselves simply on the Christian ideal of spiritual character and holy life, I see no hope of the real inward union for which alone I deeply care. External fusions may take place, from the dying away of this or that separating usage or doctrine, so as to simplify the statistics of sects and economise the cost of administration. But I do not see that the absorption of half a dozen minor firms in a single joint-stock company of insurance has any tendency to abate the ills of a monopoly of salvation.

The sympathetic spiritual fellowship which alone interests me will take place spontaneously and silently through natural affinities, stealing unconsciously through literature and personal life, far more effectively and rapidly than by any organised will-work of ours. The moment you call attention to it and try to hasten it you

frighten as many people as you enlist, and send to opposite poles the forces that else were homogeneous as front and rear on the same line of advance.

It follows from what I have said that the present omission of the Unitarians from the "Union of Churches" does not affect me as any grievance. I know of no United Church in England ; and if there were one I could no more belong to it than to a Trinitarian Church ; the doctrinal basis being alike objectionable in both, and indeed less excusable in the Unitarian, where the doctrine named is not deemed essential to salvation. If there be those, as apparently there are, who would fain organise themselves into a Unitarian Church, I cannot speak for them, for I do not share their aspirations, but must remain one of the many private Unitarians who are scattered among various Christian communions, or unrecognised by any.

JAMES MARTINEAU.

BIBLICAL ARCHEOLOGY AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY A. H. SAYCE, LL.D.

From *The Expository Times* (Edinburgh), December, 1891.

BIBLICAL history has been unfairly treated. It has been placed under the microscope, and every minute detail brought into undue relief. On the one hand, there has been a bias, conscious or unconscious, to prove that it is false and unveracious ; on the other hand, there has been a determination to explain away all difficulties and reconcile even the irreconcilable. Evidence which would be considered quite sufficient in the case of secular history, has been condemned when the narratives of the Old Testament are in question, while, conversely, the defenders of the scriptural text have too frequently forgotten the elementary principles of common sense. There is no historical book in the world, much less books which have come down to us from antiquity, which could stand the test of that microscopic examination which requires every word and sentence to possess the definiteness and accuracy of a problem of Euclid ; there is equally no work of fiction the veracious character of which could not be demonstrated by the methods often employed by apologetic theologians.

If we are going to study the Bible from a historical point of view, we ought to treat it as we should any other collection of an-

cient books which profess to contain history. The evidence required by the historian is not the same in degree, or even in kind, as that required by the physicist or mathematician. The evidence is circumstantial and inductive, and the conclusions to which it points are probable only. But in historical inquiry, as in the ordinary affairs of life, a certain amount of probability is equivalent to certainty. This fact has been repeatedly forgotten by critics of the Old Testament Scriptures. Passages have been declared to be contradictory, which are so only if a particular interpretation of one or more of them be adopted; a few inaccuracies in unimportant matters of detail have been declared to invalidate the whole of the narrative in which they are found; and a degree of mathematical precision has been demanded from the Biblical writers, which would not, and could not, be required from the writers of secular history.

But this is not all. The critic has started with certain fixed ideas and prepossessions, which have made him deny the historical character or early age of all statements and documents which run counter to them. It has been an axiom that writing for literary purposes was of late invention, and among the Canaanites or Israelites, at all events, could not have gone back to the age of Moses. Consequently, none of the books of the Old Testament, it has been assumed, can be earlier than the Davidic period, and the events they profess to record must be myths and legends, or else traditions coloured by the beliefs and conceptions of a later day. So again, intercourse between different parts of Western Asia in the time of Abraham has been determined to be an impossibility, and the account, therefore, of conquests in Palestine by kings of Elam and Babylonia has been pronounced to be a fable. The "higher" critic was better instructed on all these points than the ancient Israelitish writer.

The conclusions of the "higher criticism," as regards the history of the Old Testament, were necessarily imperfect and one-sided. It had nothing with which to compare the earlier narratives of the Bible, no form of contemporaneous evidence which bore upon them, and by means of which their truth could be tested. During the greater part of the period covered by the Biblical records they stood alone, and it was only by the help of internal evidence that their claims to veracity could be examined. The "higher" critic was thus dealing with what the logicians would call a "single instance," and every logician knows that

from a single instance no conclusion of scientific value can be drawn. It was only in so far as the "higher criticism" occupied itself with the inner structure and date of the books it dealt with, and with the relation of one portion of the scriptural narrative to another, that it was able to attain to solid results. It could show, for instance, that the Levites occupy a different position in the Book of Deuteronomy from that which is assigned to them in other parts of the Pentateuch, and that the chronological data relating to the lives of the patriarchs are inconsistent and incredible; to go further and maintain that the story of the Mosaic legislation was a fiction, and that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were figures of mythology, was to pass beyond the evidence and the limits within which it compelled the critic to move.

The "higher" critic, moreover, like the "apologist," could not help being a theologian. His subject-matter was too straitly confined to a literature, the main interest of which, in the eyes of the majority of Jews and Christians, was religious. Theological controversies had raged, and were still raging, around it, and the critic felt himself bound to take a side. Doubtless he professed to be impartial, but a scholar whose studies are confined to a particular branch of literature cannot help identifying himself with that literature, and thereby with all that it implies. It was with good reason that, in our older Universities, the Chair of Hebrew was associated with theology; the Hebraist can hardly help being a theologian, unless his study of Hebrew is merely the consequence of his earlier study of some other Oriental language. The great Hebraists, like Ewald and Olshausen, were theologians, rather than comparative Semitic philologists.

If, however, our researches into Biblical history are to be free from the charges of bias and unfairness, if they are to end in results of permanent value, which will be acknowledged by all trained historians, they must be pursued in the same spirit and upon the same lines as researches into secular history. We must put aside all theological prepossessions whatever, and examine the narratives of the Old Testament as we should examine the narratives in other ancient books. We must, in short, be archaeologists and not theologians.

Thirty years ago such an examination would have been impossible. We were but beginning to recover the past history of the Oriental world from the grave in which it had so long slept. The excavator, indeed,

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had already been busy, but the meaning and importance of his work were still but inadequately understood, and the monuments which he had found were only beginning to be made to tell their tale. The excavations of Botta and Layard had still to bear their choicest fruit, and the discoveries of Champollion and Lepsius, of Rawlinson and Oppert, were but laying the foundations for future research.

A new era was inaugurated by Dr. Schliemann. He revolutionised the study of early Greek history, and, therewith, of the early history of other nations as well. He showed that when the "higher" criticism had done its worst, when it had thrown doubt on the antiquity of our literary records, and on the history contained in them, the excavator and his interpreter could step in and reconstruct the fallen edifice. The evidence of material objects—of architectural remains, of pottery and metal work—is more convincing than the most ingenious arguments of the "higher" critic, and the most plausible theories of the scholar.

It has been proved that the story of Akhaean culture and power in the Peloponnese was no myth, but a sober reality; that the intercourse by sea with foreign lands, which Greek tradition remembered, actually took place, and that the influence of Egypt was strongly felt by the princes of Mykênæ. For a time, indeed, there were some who could not forego their older prejudices and accept the new and startling facts brought to light by the great explorer; and it has been reserved for another great excavator of our century, Mr. Flinders Petrie, to complete Dr. Schliemann's work, and prove from the dated remains of Egypt, that the civilisation revealed by the spade at Mykênæ and Tiryns is really of the age to which Greek tradition referred it. The substantial accuracy of the picture of "pre-historic" Greek culture, sketched for us in Homer and in the earlier pages of Greek historians, has been triumphantly vindicated. Inaccuracies of detail have been shown to be consistent with the trustworthiness of the general fact.

By the archaeologist and historian Biblical history and Greek history must be treated in the same way. They must be studied in accordance with the same method, and the canons of evidence which hold good for the one must hold good also for the other. Necessarily, therefore, the study of Biblical history has closely followed the example set it by the study of Greek history. The negative results obtained in the field of Biblical history by the "higher" criticism are but

an exaggerated form of the negative results already obtained, or supposed to be obtained, in the field of Greek history. The extreme scepticism of Havet, in regard to the history of the Old Testament, is but a reflection of the scepticism of Sir George Cox in regard to the history of the Greeks, and Havet, it is instructive to remember, was primarily a classical scholar. It is true that the scepticism exhibited in the case of the Old Testament records exceeds that which has been exhibited in the case of the Greek traditions. Greek writers have been allowed the benefit of a doubt which has been denied to the writers of Scripture. But this has been due to the importation of the spirit of the theologian into the examination of the Biblical books, and an unconscious bias against the popular belief in regard to them.

The reaction against the sceptical school in Greek history produced by the discoveries of Schliemann and other archaeologists, is now beginning to be felt in Biblical studies as well. Naturally, however, it is felt by the archaeologist and the student of those Oriental civilisations with which the Hebrews were in contact, rather than by the Hebraist pure and simple. It is not to be expected that the adherents of the "higher" criticism will at once surrender the beliefs and assumptions, the ideas and conclusions which they have cherished, or will admit, without a protest, the counter claims of Oriental archaeology. The Assyriologist may show, for example, that in the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna, the Canaanitish Asherah is proved to be a goddess by the determinative of divinity which is prefixed to her name; the "higher" critic will still adhere to a contrary assumption, evolved, though it has been, by what the Germans would call a "subjective" process, and supported only by the disputable evidence extracted from the pages of Scripture. That he should do so, however, matters little; the archaeologist has no theological position to defend, and he can afford to wait until the evidence derived from facts, which can be seen and handled, has forced its way even into the strongholds of an over-refined philology.

It is not possible here to go in detail through the numerous cases in which the archaeological discoveries of the last few years have re-established the credit of the writers of the Old Testament, and dissipated the ingenious objections that have been raised against them. Assyriology, Egyptology, prehistoric archaeology, even explorations in Southern Arabia and Asia Minor,

have alike been contributing to this result. All that I can do in these pages is to select a typical example of the demolition by the "higher" criticism of the historical character of a chapter in the Book of Genesis, and its successful vindication by recent Oriental research.

From several points of view the fourteenth chapter of Genesis is one of the most remarkable with which the historian is called upon to deal. Palestine and Babylonia are brought in it into direct relation with one another at a period when the geographical knowledge of the Babylonians has been supposed to have been confined within their own borders, and distant expeditions are stated to have been made by Babylonian princes such as we have been accustomed to consider were characteristic of a far later time. Moreover, the veil is lifted for a moment from the earlier history of Canaan; Jerusalem is shown to have been in existence centuries before the Israelites entered the Promised Land, and the mysterious figure of the priest-king Melchizedek appears upon the scene.

The "higher" criticism has long since relegated Melchizedek, along with Abram who paid tithes to him, to the realm of myth. For a time it adopted a more hesitating tone towards the story of the Babylonian campaign. But an article by Professor Nöldeke reassured the waverers; the names of the Canaanite kings were resolved into philological puzzles, and the whole account was demonstrated to be unhistorical. No armed expeditions it was alleged made their way from the banks of the Euphrates or Tigris to Palestine until the days of Assyrian conquest, and the last traces of history that had been allowed to remain in the Book of Genesis were ruthlessly swept away.

But the clay records still existed which were destined to confute the conclusions of German scholarship, and it was not long before the spade of the excavator made them known once more to the world. It was from Babylonia that the light first came. A copy of the annals of Sargon of Accad and his son Naram-Sin was brought to the British Museum, from which we learned that as far back as 3800 B.C., centuries before the age of Abraham, the Babylonian kings were making expeditions to the distant West. Four times did Sargon carry his arms to the shores of the Mediterranean, and on the fourth occasion he erected an image of himself by the side of the sea. A cylinder bearing the name of Naram-Sin has since been found in Cyprus, and the annals of that monarch further inform us that he

made war against the King of Midian, a country from which the diorite had already been brought for the ancient Chaldean statues that are now in the Louvre.

It is even possible that the name of one of the Babylonian princes mentioned in Genesis is met with in contemporaneous inscriptions. Bricks exist inscribed with the name of Eri-Aku, King of Larsa, whereon he calls himself the son of the Elamite Kudur-Mabug, "the father of Palestine." In Eri-Aku of Larsa it is difficult not to see Arioch of Ellasar, more especially as the inscriptions of Eri-Aku indicate the same Elamite suzerainty over Babylonia as that presupposed in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, while the name of Kudur-Mabug, "the servant of the god Mabug," is of the same character as that of Chedor-laomer—Kudur-Lagamar in cuneiform—"the servant of the god Lagamar."

That "the western land," of which Kudur-Mabug is termed "the father," was really Palestine, as it is in all other Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions known to us, is shown by a text recently discovered by Mr. Pinches. This gives the names and titles of a king who belonged to "the first Dynasty of Babylonia," and reigned about 2250 B.C. In it reference is made to "the Amorite land" of the West of which he is entitled "the king."

But it is the cuneiform tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt which most conclusively prove not only that Palestine was overrun by the armies of Babylonia long before the days of the Israelitish invasion, but also that Babylonian influence must have been deep and lasting there. The tablets consist in large measure of the letters and despatches sent to the Egyptian monarchs in the century before the exodus by the governors and vassal-chieftains of Canaan. The language of the tablets is Babylonian, and the characters with which they are inscribed are those of the complicated syllabary of Babylonia. If anything else could better prove the profound impression that must have been made by Babylonian culture upon the populations of the West, it would be the Babylonian names of deities and of individuals which occur in some of the letters. Even the god of Jerusalem is assimilated to a Babylonian divinity by its Canaanitish prince. And when we consider the number of places in Palestine which continued to bear the names of such Babylonian deities as Rimmon, and Anah, and Anath, we cannot fail to be struck with the permanent effects of Babylonian intercourse with Canaan. The references to Babylonian

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conquest in the letters of the priest-king of Jerusalem show of what kind the intercourse was.

The campaign of Chedor-laomer and his allies, therefore, was no "proleptic" reflection of the military expeditions of the later Assyrian kings. The political condition of Babylonia, moreover, described in the account of it is a condition which, as we now know, answered strictly to the facts. In the north a prince reigned at Larsa, the Ellasar of Genesis, whose name was Eri-Aku, and who acknowledged as his suzerain the Elamite Kudur-Mabug. In the south, in Shinar or Sumer, there was another kingdom whose ruler had also to admit the supremacy of Elam. And the Elamite not only claimed supremacy in Babylonia; he was also "father of Palestine."

The second half of the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, that which recounts the meeting between Abram and Melchizedek, has also received a remarkable confirmation from the clay records of the past. It is from the tablets of Tel-el-Amarna that the light in this instance has been derived. Ebed-Tob, the priest-king of Jerusalem, whose letters I have already referred to, represents himself as appointed to his office by "the oracle" of a god. He did not inherit his royal dignity from his father or his mother, or even from his lord and master, the King of Egypt, whose "friend" and ally he was. The name of the god is given as Salim or Salem, the god of "Peace," and is identified with one of the forms of the Sun-god worshipped in Babylonia. Like Melchizedek, therefore, Ebed-Tob was king in virtue of his priesthood, and might consequently be described as priest-king of Salem rather than as king of Uru Salim, "the city of Salem." Moreover, the god whose temple stood on Mount Moriah was the god of "Peace," to whom accordingly it was fitting that those who had restored peace to Canaan by driving the enemy from its soil should pay their offerings. It is needless to point out what a commentary this is on the narrative which tells us how Abram, after the defeat of the Babylonian invader, paid tithes to Melchizedek, "the priest of the Most High God."

The confirmation thus unexpectedly afforded of the historical trustworthiness of the two narratives in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis opens up a still larger question. It shows that underneath the narratives of Genesis lie historical documents which come down from the age of the events which they record, and possess accordingly all the value of contemporaneous evidence.

Whatever may have been the period when the book was compiled, its author or authors made use of written materials, and these written materials were as historically trustworthy as those on which we base our knowledge of the Persian wars with Greece. The history of Canaan before the Israelitish conquest was not a blank to be filled up by the legends and systematising fictions of a later day; it belongs to a period when reading and writing were widely known and practised, and when contemporaneous events were recorded on imperishable clay. The "higher" criticism has been over-hasty in its conclusions; the earlier books of the Bible are not a mere collection of inconsistent myths.

But we too must not be over-hasty in assuming that because Oriental archæology has verified the statements of Scripture where we least expected such confirmation to be possible, it has been equally decisive in vindicating the historical character of everything that is found in the pages of the Old Testament. The same evidence which has shown that the campaign of Chedor-laomer and his allies was a reality, and that Melchizedek was a historical figure, has shown also that the so-called "historical" chapters of the Book of Daniel are but examples of Jewish Haggadah. The cuneiform inscriptions of Nabonidus and Cyrus tell us explicitly that there was no siege of Babylon and no capture of the city in the time of Cyrus; the siege described in the Book of Daniel has been transferred from the reign of Darius Hystaspis to that of his earlier predecessor. "Darius the Mede" is equally unknown to contemporaneous history. Babylon was entered by the Persian Gobryas, the general of the forces of Cyrus, and it was Gobryas, the governor of Kurdistan, who was appointed by Cyrus over the other satraps of the realm. Nabonidus, so far from being the son of Nebuchadnezzar, was an usurper, and the dated contract-tablets make it certain that Belshazzar, the eldest son of Nabonidus, never became king. The archæological evidence which has dissipated the scepticism of the critics in regard to the older history of Israel has confirmed the doubts they have cast on the historical character of the narratives in Daniel.

There are many lessons to be learned from the recent history of the "higher" criticism. Chief among them is a caution against a disposition to draw positive conclusions from a single line of evidence. Let us wait until the object of our studies has been examined from all points of view, and under the light of a variety of facts. Prema-

ture conclusions, announced as final, have done more injury to science than all the attacks of her enemies. Let us again be on our guard against making our own assumptions and prepossessions the test of historical truth. Subjective criticism is full of pitfalls, and a single solid fact which can be observed and handled by science is worth more than a dozen brilliant theories. Above all, let us remember that in dealing with Biblical history we must be archaeologists and historians, and not theologians. The theologian's sphere of study is large and important, but history in the true sense of the word lies outside it.

EPITAPHS IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

BY ARCHDEACON FARRAR, D.D.

From *Good Words* (London), December, 1891.

MANY papers have been written on epitaphs, but I am not aware that anything has been written on the epitaphs in the great Minster, which, by the accidents of history, has also become our great national mausoleum. It contains many hundreds of epitaphs, and a brief consideration of some classes of them may be neither uninteresting nor unprofitable.

An epitaph, intended to be for years, perhaps for centuries, the sole remaining memorial of a person who has been in many cases honoured, and in most cases presumably beloved, is a composition which usually involves much care and consideration. Yet it is undeniable that nothing in the Abbey receives less attention than these inscriptions upon the tombs, though the tombs themselves are gazed upon with curiosity every year by hundreds of thousands of visitors; and this is the more strange because many of these inscriptions have been written by men who were selected for their eminence and literary skill.

One chief cause for this neglect is to be found in the inordinate length of these too-often pompous and needlessly verbose eulogies. That the epitaphs are invariably eulogistic was perhaps to be expected. "Where, then, do they bury the bad people?" asked a child, after reading in a cemetery the superhuman and exceptionless virtues of such a multitude of immaculate women and blameless men. There have been instances in which the record on the gravestone has been so notoriously belied by

the memories of the life that we are not surprised at the line of the satirist—

"Believe a woman or an epitaph."

But if we desire, as most men do, to struggle against that iniquity of oblivion which so "blindly scattereth her poppy," and to preserve, at least for a few years, the memory of our beloved, experience shows us that the briefest record is the most likely to be effective. A long and wordy epitaph is rarely read, and never remembered.

Not a few of the longest and most platitudinous epitaphs are exactly those which are passed by with the most entire indifference. The eccentric and pedantic Sir Samuel Morland has effectually hidden the merits of his two wives by recording them upon one tomb in Greek and Hebrew, and on the other in Hebrew and Ethiopic! Such an inscription, as Addison said, is truly modest, for it would not be understood once in a twelvemonth. But merits may as effectually be hidden under a mountain-load of English words. Let one instance suffice out of scores which might be chosen. In the north transept is the tomb of Sir J. Balchen, who was—

"Admiral of the White Squadron of His Majesty's fleet in 1744. Being sent out Commander-in-Chief of the combined fleets of England and Holland, to cruise on the enemy, was, on his return home in his Majesty's ship the *Victory*, lost in the Channel by a violent storm; from which sad circumstance of his death we may learn that neither the greatest skill, judgment, or experience, joined to the most firm, unshaken resolution, can resist the fury of the winds and waves; and we are taught by the passages of his life, which were filled with great and gallant actions, but ever accompanied with adverse gales of fortune, that the brave, the worthy, and the good man, meets not always his reward in this world. Fifty-eight years of faithful and painful services he had passed, when, being just retired to the government of Greenwich Hospital to wear out the remainder of his days . . ."

And so it goes on at interminable length with multitudes of superfluous adjectives. Of the writers of such epitaphs we can only say with Homer—

"Foolish! nor do they know how much more half is than the whole!"

Doubtless many of the persons described at such inordinate length were worthy of the applause thus bestowed on them, and it is quite natural for immediate survivors to suppose that they honour the dead by a long enumeration of their titles and offices. In point of fact, however, very few years elapse before posterity is little concerned with such details. We do not greatly care to know of John Holles, Duke of Newcastle—

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"That he was Knight of the Bath and Baron Ogle in right of his mother; Viscount Mansfield, and Baron Cavendish of Bolsover, Earl of Ogle, Earl Marquis, and Duke of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Lord Lieutenant of the counties of Nottingham and Northumberland, First Lord of the Bedchamber to King James I., Guardian to Prince Charles, Privy Councillor, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter; that, for his fidelity to the King, he was made Captain-General of the forces raised for his service in the North."

Perhaps the palmary instance of unconscious vanity and incongruity in this direction is found on the bust erected by Benson to Milton, in which we have one about Milton and four or five about the small official magnificences of Benson. This curiosity should be given entire. It is—

"This bust of the Author of 'Paradise Lost,' was placed here by William Benson, Esquire, one of the two Auditors of the Imprests to His Majesty King George II., formerly Surveyor-General of the works to H.M. King George I."

If the tombs of really great men were crowded with such facts, their epitaphs would almost assume the proportions of biographies. The greatest men and women, as a rule, have the shortest epitaphs, and have been those who would care least about long ones. A few words were adequate for the good Queen Eleanor, and a line of Latin by Erasmus for the Lady Margaret of Richmond. Few greater men are buried in the Abbey than Lord Chatham. Yet these few lines suffice for the tomb, from which he seems still "with eagle face and outstretched hand to bid England be of good cheer and hurl defiance at her foes"—

"Erected by the King and Parliament as a testimony to the virtues and ability of William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, during whose administration, in the reigns of Geo. II. and III., Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to a height of prosperity and glory unknown to any former age. Born November 15, 1708. Died May 11, 1778."

It was written by Bacon, the sculptor; and though George III., on hearing this, bade him stick to his chisel, there is no fault to find with it. Three or four lines also suffice for his son, "the heaven-born Prime Minister," and merely record that—

"This monument is erected by Parliament to William Pitt, son of William, Earl of Chatham, in testimony of gratitude for the eminent public services, and of regret for the irreparable loss of that great and disinterested Minister. He died Jan. 23, 1806, in the forty-seventh year of his age."

Two words, *Carolus Magnus*, were enough for Karl the Great. We know that on the grave of Wordsworth, in Grasmere Churchyard, are only the two words "William Wordsworth." Keats wished nothing else

carved on his tombstone than "Here lies one whose name was writ in water." On the fine bust of Dryden, raised to his memory by the Mæcenæ of literature in his day, John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, the Duke knew that it was wholly unnecessary to add anything to the words, "John Dryden, born 1632, died May 1, 1700." Already on the tomb of Spenser had been inscribed the words—

"Here lies (expecting the second coming of our Saviour Christ Jesus) the body of Edmund Spenser, the Prince of Poets in his time, whose divine spirit needs no other witness than the works which he left behind him. He was born in London in 1553, and died in 1598."

The tombs and graves and busts of Samuel Johnson, David Garrick, Isaac Watts, George Grote, Charles Darwin, Robert Browning, Charles Dickens, and others, are marked only by their names and the dates of their birth and death. On the grave of Newton are the words, *Hic depositum est Isaaci Newtoni quod mortale fuit*.

As a rule, the longest inscriptions encumber the least distinguished graves. And the worst of some of them is not only their tedious prolixity, but also their intolerable prosiness. For the splendid tomb of Mansfield, which is adorned by one of Flaxman's finest and most pathetic statues, the two lines of Pope might have sufficed—

"Here Murray, long enough his country's pride,
Is now no more than Tully or than Hyde."

His memory would have been immortalised by his great speeches, and did not need any fulsome additions, still less the prosy bathos and anti-climax which follow.

On the colossal statue of Watt, by Chantrey, placed with hideous incongruity in the chapel of St. Paul, the two words, James Watt, would have been ample; and in his case, as in many others, we might have said *Cætera historia loquatur*. Lord Brougham was, however, asked to compose the inscription, and it is as follows:—

"Not to perpetuate a name, which must endure while the peaceful arts flourish, but to show that mankind have learned to honour those who best deserved their gratitude, the king, his ministers, and many of the nobles and commoners of the realm, raised this monument to James Watt, who, directing the force of an original genius, early exercised in philosophical research, to the improvement of the steam-engine, enlarged the resources of his country, increased the power of man, and rose to an eminent place among the most illustrious followers of science and the real benefactors of the world. Born at Greenock, 1736, died at Heathfield, in Staffordshire, 1819."

In some instances, where the man has been the representative of a great cause, a

longer inscription is permissible. Such is the case with those which commemorate the leaders in the great battle for the abolition of the slave-trade. Clarkson, not the least self-sacrificing of them, has not even a tablet, and the record on the arm-chair statue of Wilberforce is commonplace; but no one will regret the eloquent account of Granville Sharpe, which though the writers admit to be diffuse, they excuse on the ground that it is not panegyric but history—

"Born and educated in the bosom of the Church of England, he ever cherished for her institutions the most unshaken regard, whilst his whole soul was in harmony with the sacred strain—'Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good-will towards men;' on which his life presented one beautiful comment of glowing piety and unwearied beneficence. Freed by competence from the necessity, and by content from the desire, of lucrative occupation, he was incessant in his labours to improve the condition of mankind. Founding public happiness on public virtue, he aimed to rescue his native country from the guilt and inconsistency of employing the arm of Freedom to rivet the fetters of Bondage, and established for the Negro Race, in the person of *Somerset* (his servant), the long disputed rights of human nature. Having, in this glorious cause, triumphed over the combined resistance of Interest, Prejudice, and Pride, he took his place among the foremost of the honourable band associated to deliver Africa from the rapacity of Europe, by the abolition of the Slave Trade."

To Sir J. F. Stephen was entrusted the inscription under the bust of Zachary Macaulay, and it deserves to be remembered as a beautiful piece of English:—

"In grateful remembrance of Zachary Macaulay, who, during a protracted life, with an intense but quiet perseverance, which no success could relax, no reverse could subdue, no toil, privations, or reproach could daunt, devoted his time, talents, fortune, and all the energies of his mind and body to the service of the most injured and helpless of mankind; and partook for more than forty years in the counsels and in the labours which, guided and blessed by God, first rescued the British Empire from the guilt of the Slave Trade, and finally conferred freedom on 800,000 slaves."

No tomb in the Abbey presents so many incongruities as that erected by Queen Anne to the brave sailor, Sir Cloudesley Shovell. This bluff English Admiral is represented in his effigy half naked, partly clad in Roman armour, leaning on a silk cushion, and wearing a flowing full-bottomed wig! The inscription tells us at length of his death and shipwreck—a tragic incident little to his credit, which is represented on the bas-relief below—but says not a word of his memorable services.

Every one has noticed the extraordinary tendency to be jocose over the remains of the dead, which can alone account for the

strange words on the gravestones of country churchyards. There are some approaches to these, sometimes intentional, and sometimes through unconscious dulness. Thus on the tomb of Sir J. Fullerton we read that "he died *fuller* of faith than of fear, *fuller* of consolation than of pains, *fuller* of honour than of days." Again, on the tablet to William Lawrence, a servant to one of the prebendaries, in the North Walk of the Cloisters, we read—

"Short-hand he wrote; his flower in prime did fade,
And hasty death short-hand of him hath made.
Well coult he numbers, and well-measured land;
Thus doth he now that ground whereon you stand,
Wherein he lies so geometrical:
Art maketh some, but thus doth nature all."

In the Little Cloisters we have the extraordinary remark that Thomas Smith, in 1663, "through the spotted veil of the small-pox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God"! Quaintness of expression is common on tombs, but there are not many instances of it in the Abbey. One occurs on the tomb of Grace Scot, whose husband and father were both among the judges of Charles I.

"Hee that will give my Grace but what is Hers
Must say her Death hath not
Made only her deare *Scot*,
But Vertue, Worth, and Sweetnesse Widowers."

On the cenotaph of Samuel Butler, the author of "*Hudibras*," J. Barber, Lord Mayor of London, placed the not unhappy turn of speech,

"Ne cui vivo deerant fere omnia,
Deesset etiam mortuo tumulus."

In the epitaph of our great English musician Purcell, written it is said by Dryden, we are told with happy brevity that—

"Here lyes Henry Purcell, Esq., who left this life, and is gone to that blessed place where only his Harmony can be exceeded."

Less successful are Dryden's lines on Sir Palmes Fairborne, though they are historically interesting as illustrative of the dread of a Jacobite invasion in 1680—

"Ye sacred reliques which your marble keepe,
Heere undisturb'd by waris, in quiet sleepe,
Discharge the trust which (when it was below)
Fairborne's disdaunted soul did undergoe,
And be the town's Balladium * from the Foe."

It might have been expected that Pope, so great a master of the antithetic and epigrammatic style, would have been specially successful in epitaphs; yet the only good

* Sic.

one that he ever wrote is that on Mrs. Elizabeth Corbet, in St. Margaret's, Westminster. Those in the Abbey are without exception bad. There is a preposterous disproportionateness in his lines on Sir Godfrey Kneller—

"Kneller, by Heav'n, and not a master, taught,
Whose art was nature, and whose pictures
thought—

When now two ages he has snatch'd from fate
Whate'er was beauteous, or whate'er was great—
Rosts, crown'd with princes' honours, poets' lays,
Due to his merit and brave thirst of praise :
Living, great Nature fear'd he might outvie
Her works ; and dying, fears herself may dye."

The last two lines are stolen from Cardinal Bembo's distich on Raphael. Even when addressed to Raphael, they are only excusable as reflecting the national style and idiomatic extravagance of Italy and the Renaissance ; but the notion of Nature dying because Sir Godfrey Kneller had died was one which only the artificiality of an eighteenth-century poet could have accepted as otherwise than outrageous and grotesque ! Pope, however, had the sense to admit that "it was the worst thing he ever wrote in his life." The same straining after false antithesis is observable in Pope's lines on Craggs—

"Statesman, yet friend to truth, of soul sincere,
In action faithful, and in honour clear,
Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,
Who gained no title, and who lost no friend.
Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,
Prais'd, wept, and honour'd, by the muse he
lov'd."

And still more in the lines which he wrote for Newton's grave—

"Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night,
God said, 'Let Newton be !' and all was light."

The tomb of Gay is defaced by the frivolous cynicism and impiety of his self-chosen epitaph—

"Life is a jest, and all things show it,
I thought so once, and now I know it."

But the last four lines of Pope's inscription are as unreal as anything can be—

"These are thy honours ; not that here thy bust
Is mix'd with heroes, or with Kings thy dust ;
But that the worthy and the good *shall say*,
Striking their pensive bosoms—Here lies Gay !"

In the lines on Rowe, the Poet Laureate, and his daughter, Pope wrote—

"To these so mourn'd in death, so loved in life,
The childless parent and the widow'd wife
With tears inscribed this monumental stone,
That hold thine ashes, and expects her own."

He was exceedingly disgusted when the last

line was falsified by the speedy re-marriage of Mrs. Rowe, who is represented weeping above.

The extraordinary incapacity of Pope to recognise what was essential in an epitaph, and what was absurdly misplaced, is shown by his proposed epitaph on the monument of Shakespeare. He had been naturally disgusted by Auditor Benson's parade of his own titles on Milton's cenotaph, and had written in his "Dunciad"—

"On poets' tombs see Benson's titles shine :"

and he had also disliked Barber's mention of his own name on the tomb of Samuel Butler. He suggested for Shakespeare's cenotaph—

"Thus Britons love me, and preserve my fame,
Free from a Barber's or a Benson's name ;—"

as though Shakespeare would have been honoured by such ephemeral spite !

The single epitaph by Tickell on his friend Addison is more successful, and the lines are really beautiful—

"Ne'er to these chambers, where the mighty rest,
Since their foundation, came a nobler guest ;
Nor e'er was to the bowers of bliss conveyed
A fairer spirit, or more welcome shade.
Oh, gone for ever ! take this long adieu,
And sleep in peace, next thy lov'd Montague."

Among other epitaphs which contain forcible and memorable lines we may mention the following. Francis Holles, son of the Earl of Clare, died in Flanders at the age of eighteen. His epitaph is—

"What so thou hast of nature or of arts,
Youth, beauty, strength, or what excellent parts
Of mind and body, letters, arms, and worth,
His eighteen years beyond his years brought
forth ;
Then stand and read thyself within this glass,
How soon these perish, and thyself may pass :
Man's life is measured by the work, not days ;
Not aged sloth, but active youth, hath praise."

The following lines on the tomb of Michael Drayton, the author of "Polyolbion," are also good, and are either by Ben Jonson or Quarles—

"Doe, pious marble, let thy readers knowe,
What they and what their children owe
To Drayton's name, whose sacred dust
Wee recommend unto thy trust.
Protect his memory and preserve his story ;
Remaine a lasting monument of his glory.
And when the ruins shall disclame
To be the treas'ner of his name,
His name, that cannot fade, shall be
An everlasting monument to thee."

The Abbey contains but two epitaphs by Lord Tennyson. One is on Sir Stratford de Redcliffe—

"Thou third great Canning, stand among our best
And noblest, now thy long day's work hath
ceased.

Here silent in our Minister of the West,
Who wert the voice of England in the East."

The antithesis here is not specially forcible,
and the quatrain on Sir James Franklin is
more successful—

"Not here! the white North has thy bones; and
thou,

Heroic sailor-soul,
Art passing on thine happier voyage now
Toward no earthly pole."

In the same chapel is the lovely monument
on brave Sir Francis Vere, on whom
the following epitaph is found in Lord Pet-
tigrew's collection—

"When Vere sought death, arm'd with the sword
and shield,

Death was afraid to meet him in the field,
But when his weapons he had laid aside,
Death, like a coward, struck him, and he died."

Several of the epitaphs have curious inci-
dents attached to their history.

In the west cloister the visitor will pass a
gravestone to John Broughton, who com-
bined the double distinction of being cham-
pion prize-fighter of England, and for many
years one of the vergers of the Abbey. It
was from his colossal proportions and mighty
muscular development that Roubiliac mod-
elled his figure of Hercules on the tomb of
General Fleming. It will be observed that
there is a blank line under his name. It is
accounted for by the fact that he wished the
words "Champion prize-fighter of England"
to be recorded under it. The Dean and
Chapter objected; the decision was post-
poned; and as more than a century has
elapsed since the man's death, we may as-
sume that it has been postponed *sine die*.

On the tomb of John Philips, the author
of the now-forgotten poems of "The Splen-
did Shilling" and "Cider"—which is indi-
cated by the wreath of apple interwoven
with laurels, and the motto *Honos erit huic
quoque pomo*—had once been written the
enormous exaggeration that he was—

Uni Miltoæ secundus et primo pæne par.

It might have been thought that the
words would have been excluded because
they express so false a literary estimate.
They were, however, excluded on the very
different ground that, in the judgment of
the then Dean—the time-serving Bishop
Sprat—the Abbey walls ought not to be dis-
graced by the name of Milton! On which
we can only say—

"Enough! high words abate no jot or tittle
Of what, while man still lasts, shall still be
true;

Heaven's great ones must be slandered by earth's
little,
And God makes no ado!"

Another epitaph with a history is that on
John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham. As
he himself wrote it, it ran as follows:

"Dubius sed non improbus vixi;
Incertus morior, non perturbatus.
Humanum est nescire et errare.
Christum adveneror, Deo confido
Omnipotentî, benevolentissimo.
Eus entium miserere mei!"

But Bishop Atterbury, then Dean of
Westminster, unwisely and unfairly struck
out the words "*Christum adveneror*," be-
cause he said that "the verb" was not full
enough as applied to Christ—who is thus
left altogether unmentioned.

The inscriptions on the tombs of later
days show a marked increase of taste and
common-sense. They are in many cases
brief, striking, and essentially illustrative
of the lives and characters of those whose
memory they are intended to perpetuate.
This was mainly due to the genial wisdom,
wide reading, and literary taste of Dean
Stanley, to whom all who love the Abbey
owe an inestimable debt of gratitude. He
made the epitaphs not only fitting memo-
rials of the dead, but also to be like the
Hermæ at Athens, a source of instruction
and moral ennoblement to all who read their
lofty sentiments. Thus, under the bust of
the first Lord Lawrence are inscribed the
words spoken of him by a friend—"He
feared man so little, because he feared God
so much." On the cenotaph of John and
Charles Wesley are carved three famous
sayings of the founder of the Methodists:—

"The best of all is, God is with us;"

which were the words repeated by him three
times, with strange energy, as he lay on his
death-bed.

"I look on the whole world as my Parish,"

words which he used as a defence of the
evangelistic energy of his life; and

"God buries His workmen, but carries on His
work."

In a grave where rested for a time the re-
mains of the philanthropist, George Pea-
body, are inscribed his best-known words—
"I have prayed my Heavenly Father day
by day that he would enable me to show my
gratitude for the blessings which I have
received by doing some great good for my
fellow-men."

Another instance of a selected sentence,
full of significance, may be found on the
small marble tablet erected, in 1841, to the

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memory of Jeremiah Horrox, curate of Hoole, who, had he not died at the age of twenty-one, would probably have been as great as Newton. He was buried at Hoole and had no memorial till this humble tablet was placed by the west door two centuries after he had been the first to observe the transit of Venus. After recording mathematical and astronomical discoveries truly amazing in one so mere a boy, it mentions that his famous observation of the transit of Venus had been taken in the interval between three full Sunday services; and so far from despising these humble ministrations to the inhabitants of a poor village, he said that he was interrupted in his observations by being *ad majora advocatus, quæ ob hæc parerga negligi non decuit*.

Again, on the grave of Livingstone, which is always a point of the deepest interest to all visitors of the Abbey, are recorded the last words he ever wrote—the words which he had written in his diary very shortly before he was found by his black followers dead upon his knees.

"All I can add in my solitude is, may Heaven's rich blessing come down on every one, American, English, or Turk, who will help to heal this open sore of the world," *i.e.*, the slave trade.

One more specimen of a most felicitous inscription is that upon the white marble pedestal of the statue of Lord Shaftesbury; the last statue added to the Abbey, and almost the last for which there will be room.

The most conspicuous epitome of the aim of his life, and the lesson of his example, is summarised in the shortest possible exhortation for a noble and unselfish career—the two monosyllables,

"LOVE. SERVE."

Certainly the two epitaphs in the Abbey which, as epitaphs, are most famous and most frequently repeated, are those on a great dramatist and an unknown little child. Every one reads with interest the well-known words,

"O Rare Ben Jonson,"

which a casual passer-by had engraved, at a cost of half-a-crown to the sexton, on the square stone under which the poet was buried upright. He has never needed any other memorial. In the cloister is a plain tablet to a little child of the classes, who died in infancy in the year of revolution 1688. "In that eventful year of the Revolution," says Dean Stanley, "when Church and State were reeling to their foundation, this dear child found her quiet resting-place

in the eastern cloister. The sigh over the prematurely-ended life is petrified into stone, and affects us the more deeply from the great events amidst which it is enshrined." This is, perhaps, the only inscription of all these hundreds which recalls the pathetic, exquisite simplicity of the epitaphs in the Catacombs, which record the sorrowful bereavements of the early Christians. It is simply,

"Here lyes
Jane Lister,
dear Child."

On Dean Stanley's own altar-tomb of alabaster is an inscription such as he himself would have approved. It gives no pompous enumeration of titles and honours, but the date of his career, and the appropriate text

"I know that all things come to an end;
But thy commandments are exceeding broad."

IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA.

BY W. J. DAWSON.

From *The Young Man* (London), December, 1891.

THE notes for this month are not written within familiar walls, and in the neighbourhood of familiar sights; my study is a Continent, and the voices which greet me are the voices of a New World. Where so much is new, and it is possible to see so little, it is difficult to speak with any exactitude of facts and impressions. From a young man's point of view I must at once say, however, that America is the land of the future. My deepest impression is one of sheer amazement at the rapidity and thoroughness with which civilisation has covered this vast continent. There is a touch of newness about everything, as one might expect; the cities still smell of the prairie. But there can be no doubt at all that for capacity, industry, and genius, America presents an unequalled sphere of action. The rush of life in England concentrates itself in about a dozen great centres at most. Here cities are literally born in a day. There is room for almost infinite expansion. With us every pathway to competence is crowded with a jostling throng; it is so here also, but with this difference, that fresh pathways are opened every day. The shadow of Malthus rests heavily over England, and large families present embarrassments and bring anxieties. Here there is so much room, that the larger the family the better. I don't mean

to encourage the delusion that a man can succeed with less effort in America than Great Britain. Competition is nowhere keener than in the great cities of the States. But there are more prizes, and capacity is surer of recognition. Dunces and drones are at a discount here as at home; but the youth who is not afraid of work, and can really do some one thing better than his fellows, will here find the road open and a welcome.

In nothing is the young American so fortunate as in the great educational establishments of his country. Education is cheap and thorough. The provision for the education of women is especially notable. I recently preached the Matriculation sermon of the Women's College in Baltimore. This college is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world. Its appliances are absolutely perfect. The most efficient education that can be given is obtainable here. At what rates? £20 per annum for day scholars; £60 per annum for boarders. It is a Methodist Newnham; for I should add that it is a Methodist enterprise, and that Methodism here stands in the front rank of educational forces. With the free school and open University it is practically possible for the poorest youth to secure the finest education. In this respect Scotland is the only country that bears comparison. In Scotland the plough-boy may work his way to the University, and is not ashamed to herd cows in the summer that he may earn money to take the University course in the winter. One of my correspondents asks me where he can obtain in Great Britain the cheapest University course, and my reply is Scotland—Glasgow, Edinburgh, or Aberdeen. But what is rare with us, and is impossible in England, is common in America. America believes that the first duty of a nation is to educate its children, and it will reap its reward in the culture of the next generation.

I do not mean to say that the average American of middle life is more cultured than the average Englishman. Perhaps he is less so, though certainly he is not less intelligent. The rush for the dollar has done a great deal to materialise life. Even in ecclesiastical affairs it is common to hear men talk of three and four thousand dollar churches. Wealth is being made at almost an appalling rate in the great cities. But wealth begets leisure, and with leisure will come culture. Nor do I think that the lot of the labourer and artisan is so much better, as many people suppose. Wages are

double, but the expense of life is greater. The artisan is no doubt better fed. I am not sure that he is better lodged, and certainly he pays far more for lodging, as he does for clothing. But he has more money to spend, and probably has more comfort, though even in this respect I doubt if he is much better off than the best skilled operatives of Lancashire or Yorkshire. His real advantage is in his greater opportunity for advancement. Social problems have not yet had time to make their pressure felt so keenly as in cities like London and Glasgow. The great door of the West is always open to the daring and able man. The Old World has used America pretty much as a place to dump its rubbish. It has sent over its failures, and been indignant because a sea voyage has not transformed them into successes. Therefore, I say again, that no young man is likely to succeed here who would not succeed at home. The same ability in England will win success; the only difference is that here the chance is better, and success can be more rapidly achieved.

Another thing to be remembered is that America is in no sense a New England nowadays: in many respects it is essentially un-English. The mixture of Irish, Germans, Poles, and indeed all nationalities, has produced a distinctly new type. The hotels, the railway arrangements, the aspect of the cities, the customs and habits, are very different from the English. America at most is a continentalised England, and it is scarcely that. The Sunday newspaper is an institution. It is read by church-goers as eagerly as by other people. In Chicago there is scarcely any Sabbath observance at all. A better climate encourages a more outdoor life. In politics some of the first principles of justice have yet to be learned. The negro vote is notoriously manipulated, discounted, and even ignored. In the Southern States the negro is still visited with degrading social disabilities. At the recent Ecumenical Methodist Conference in Washington, the negro delegates could not find hotel accommodation, and were refused meals in the restaurants. White ministers of the Gospel still refuse to sit at the same table with coloured ministers of the same Church. In the Southern States special cars are reserved for coloured people, and they are not allowed to enter the ordinary car. Any gambler, profligate, or drunkard can find accommodation in the first hotels, if he be a white man; but the negro is refused admission, though he be a bishop, a scholar, a gentleman. All this is

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so entirely contrary to English notions, that an Englishman may well feel America to be a foreign country. There can be no doubt, however, that great changes will occur as the nation becomes more settled, coherent, homogeneous. Absolute religious equality must in the long run produce racial equality.

The thirst of the negro for education is a most noble and touching thing. In one of the schools of Baltimore may be seen an old black woman of sixty-three sitting on the same form with a child of ten. "I've not long to live," said she, "and I thought I couldn't do better than use my last years in trying to learn how to read the Bible." A little while ago an old white-headed negro presented himself before the examining board of a college in company with his only son. When the lad's examination was finished, and he was admitted to the college, the old man said, "How old do you admit people into this college?" "There's no limit in that direction," said the governor. "Could I be admitted?" "Certainly, if you could pass the examination." "Then I guess I'll be examined." He was examined and admitted. "You see," said he, "this boy's my only boy. I've taught him all he knows. I couldn't bear to think of him reading books I couldn't read, and knowing things I couldn't understand." So there the old man sits beside his son, and both will presently graduate together. Surely this is a noble incident, and an indication of the great future there is in store for the coloured people. Would that every youth in England were as eager for knowledge as that old white-headed negro!

THE "WORD OF GOD."

BY THE REV. MORGAN DIX, D.D., D.C.L.

From *The Churchman* (Epis.), New York, December 19, 1891.

"The foundation of God standeth sure."—2 Timothy ii. 19.

It was once said by Dr. Liddon that the second Sunday in Advent might almost be called the yearly festival of Holy Scripture. I intend to speak to you this morning of the extraordinary position in which we seem to be placed at the present day, on the question about the truthfulness and trustworthiness of that volume which we love and accept as the Word of God.

And first of the Old Testament: The books which make it up have been known and read for more than 2,300 years. The

history of the Jewish canon is necessarily obscure; but in the old traditions of the Jewish people on this point there is no intrinsic improbability, and certainly they are much more credible than the bold inventions of their impugnors. The Hebrew canon was uniform and consistent with our own; and there is ample witness to its authority and to its gradual formation in accordance with the independent results of internal evidence. The great synagogue, consisting of able and learned men of their day, determined, as is generally allowed, the canon. The volume thus set forth, as inspired and authentic, was widely known and read in the tongue of the Jews; and about 250 years before Christ, when Greek had become the speech of cultivated and civilized people, it was translated into that language. In those two tongues it was read by Jew and Gentile.

Nineteen hundred years ago, Christ came into the world; men beheld His glory, full of grace and truth, and the world changed. The Old Testament Scriptures were known to Him, as one might say, by heart. They were, to use the words of Newman Hall, our Saviour's Bible.

He made them His text-book; they were the basis of His teaching. He used them for argument, for illustration, for proof; He showed how they prophesied of Him; He expounded to His disciples in all the Scriptures the things concerning Himself; He gave the Hebrew canon to His Church, with His witness to its truth; Moses, the prophets, the Psalms, were now, as it were, signed, sealed and delivered to after ages, by the infallible and divine Saviour of mankind. The apostles began their preaching with texts from these books. When St. Paul says that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures have hope, he is referring to the Old Testament as he had it then, as we have it now. When St. Peter speaks of Christ as the chief cornerstone, elect and precious, he quotes from Isaiah the prophet. They commented on passages from those sacred writings, in letters to the churches. The volume came, with its contents unchanged and unimpugned, into the possession of the Catholic Christian Church.

After some time a second volume of Holy Scriptures was added to the first; not suddenly, but after long use, and with great critical pains and care. It consisted of a collection of writings dating from twenty to sixty years after the Ascension. The history of the formation of this second volume, known as the New Testament, resembles that of the first. The books of which it is

composed came by degrees into wide circulation: they were read in all parts of the Church; a clear and definite public opinion of their genuineness was formed. The honor of a place among inspired writings was cautiously conceded. Many other contemporaneous writings were rejected as apocryphal: those which finally made up the New Testament held their ground. Subjected to a thorough sifting process, continued through 200 years, at a time when the facilities for such examination were largest, and when there was no lack of profound students and scholars in the Church, they received at last, about the beginning of the fourth century, the seal of authority from councils in East and West; not as if that action made the canon: it simply bespoke a universal conviction as to the character of those books. Thus the Bible, complete in Old and New Testament, came into its present and final shape. And from those old times to our own day it has been venerated throughout Christendom as the Word of God. This is, in brief, the story of the Book, from our time back to 1,600 years ago, and back of that 700 more; and with such a record as to its authenticity and genuineness it has reached our hands.

Consider next its literary history: a history so remarkable as to throw every other of the kind into the shade. No book can be compared with the Bible, in versions, editions, and circulation. The history of those versions begins on the threshold of the third century if not before. We find the Greek of Ephesus, Athens, and Rome, the Latin of Carthage, the Coptic of Egypt, the Syriac of the East. These are the beginnings of a mighty flood rolling down to our own day. The Bible is now read in at least 300 languages and dialects. To speak of the present century only, some 200,000,000 of copies have been distributed by societies, and countless millions more by private enterprise. New translations and versions continue to appear, and in all this time no diminution has occurred in the contents of either section, and no solid ground has been shown for any important change in any part.*

As for the moral and spiritual history, it is even more wonderful than the literary. The hearts, the consciences, the intellect of vast multitudes of every race, whom no man can number, witness to the salutary and strengthening power of the Word of God. It has been indeed a lantern unto the feet

and a light unto the paths of men. To speak first of the Old Testament, let me quote the words of Dr. Liddon: "Could any merely human author have stood the test which the Old Testament has stood? Think what it has been to the Jewish people throughout the tragic vicissitudes of their wonderful history. Think what it has been to Christendom. For nineteen centuries it has formed the larger part of the religious hand-book of the Christian Church; it has shaped Christian hopes: it has largely governed Christian legislation; it has supplied the language for the Christian prayer and praise. The noblest and saintliest souls in Christendom have one after another fed their souls on it, or even on fragments of it. Throughout the Christian centuries the Old Testament has been worked like a mine, which is as far from being exhausted to-day as in the apostolic age."

Of the New Testament, the same and more might be said; it seems even nearer and dearer to us than the Old; it is the production of our own household: the cherished, the sacred treasure of our Christian home.

I have said a very few words, where volumes might be written: but time permits no more than this by way of historic reminder. To pass on: The age is fruitful in strange phenomena; but one of the strangest is this: that so many persons have allowed their faith in this Book to be shaken, after all this time, and with all this evidence of its real place in the world. The disquiet, the panic, the surrender of reason and sound judgment, observable in many quarters, is generally attributed to the cogent force of what men style the higher criticism. Is there any process less worthy of confidence or respect?

As for criticism, there is one kind which is legitimate and necessary; it has been going on for more than 2,000 years, and to it we owe the text of a volume of which the original manuscripts disappeared long since. Ezra, in the fifth century before the Christian era, was no doubt a critic of that respected and honored class; so were the seventy translators at Alexandria; so were Origen and Epiphanius, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Chrysostom; so was St. Jerome; and of such were Wickliffe and Coverdale, Griesbach and Tischendorf. It is the legitimate business of criticism to settle the text; and to decide questions of date

* See sermon by the Rev. Samuel A. Virgin, D.D., "Christ and the Higher Critics," published in "The Pilgrim," May, 1891.

* The Worth of the Old Testament: A Sermon preached in St. Paul's cathedral, Dec. 3, 1889, second edition, with a preface.

and authorship, not by preconceived theory, or fancy, or prejudice, but by the canons applicable to the case; the methods are the same in all literature. This work began when the writings composing the Old Testament were collected, collated, and edited; it was carried on, in the case of the New Testament Scriptures, with assiduity and ability for three hundred years, in the face of the best scholarship of the pagan world and under incessant fire from heretical schools whose life depended on establishing their objections.

The result is seen in the place of the Bible as the Book of books, attested as such by a scrutiny to which no other book was ever subjected, and which this book has triumphantly withstood.

Now what is this shadow, this cloud, which has come over so many people to-day; this baleful suspicion of the chief treasure of the Church? Let us consider if it be not a result and an indication of an inveterate tendency in human nature to resist authority, to do without the light from above, and to make private opinion the final test of truth.

So long as the sacred Scriptures have been presenting their claim to attention, so long has bitter opposition to that claim been made. The claim explains that opposition; the claim, and the contents of the Book. It professes to be the Word of God to men; inspired; and therefore essentially unlike other books. It contains the history of supernatural religion. It demands faith and obedience. Such claim, profession, and demand account at once for the resistance, the opposition; they cause an inevitable recoil. The claim can only be denied by denying the character of the Book, its divine source, its inspiration in a sense in which no other book is inspired, its moral authority, its truthfulness as a record of supernatural things.

Attacks on the Book on that line have been going on ever since the Book came out with its claim, its profession, and its demand. The battle has been waged long and bitterly. In our day it is conducted with fresh vivacity, by rejectors of divine authority and deniers of supernatural religion; with hopes inspired by recent alleged scientific discoveries, and with reliance on a new and surprising method of dealing with the Scriptures. It is not now so much a question of historic testimony and exterior evidence; but the implement for settling date and authorship is human intuition. The firm ground of history is abandoned for that of theory, impression, and conjecture. The

old hostility to supernatural religion and Church authority expresses itself in this new criticism. In fact, it is not new. It is a revival of the assault on Christianity by the pagans of the early centuries. It may be plainly seen in the annals of the reformation in the sixteenth century. Martin Luther was a higher critic of this type when he rejected the Epistle of St. James because he could not square with it his special theory of justification. His argument was: "I am undoubtedly right in my statement that man is justified by faith only. St. James says, 'By works a man is justified and not by faith only.' That is enough to condemn him; I reject St. James, and designate his epistle as an epistle of straw; he and I do not agree; and I must be right and he must be wrong." That is the analysis of the process by which the Scriptures are now to be dethroned from their place. Whatever that be in the Bible which cannot be squared with the prejudices, the prepossessions, the ideas of our own time, must be thrown out as spurious, or regarded as uninspired and without other than human authority. The Bible is the barrier in the way of complete license of thought on religion, and therefore the Bible must be, somehow or other, disposed of.

This process, in the shape with which we have to defend ourselves from it, began in Germany; thence it spread to France, to England, to America. It is here in full bloom, and bearing fruit after its kind. But wherever we study it, we find it, in essential features, the same.

First, it makes little if any account of external testimony and historic evidence: the conclusions of the great scholars and students, who knew and used the Scriptures from the beginning; the work of the great synagogue, and the Catholic councils; the uninterrupted and universal assent of the last two thousand years, are no weight against a prejudice existing in the critic's mind.

Secondly, It practically invests the modern critic with a power of intuitive discernment, an ability to recognize truth without any aid from historic or other facts. In examining the sacred canon, the critic has no new facts to show; yet he says, with an air of supreme authority if not of actual omniscience, "This writer was a romancer and fabulist; that writer never lived; this book was not written by him whose name it has borne between two and three thousand years; these discourses and this history were the invention of subtle priestly conspirators." And when asked how he has

made these astounding discoveries, he has not a word of historic testimony to present, but he says, "My criticism proves them; modern learning establishes them; they are the ascertained results of the best thought of the day." In fact, these results, thus paraded before us in the stilted and bombastic style which we know so well come down, at last, to nothing better than guess-work and fancy; they are the fruit of difficulties which lie in the mind of the critic, and have no foundation in legitimate inquiry. They are the result of a process correctly described as "free conjecture operating upon the sacred text."

Criticism of this kind has been well stigmatized as "flimsy criticism," a species of criticism unheard of except in the case of the Word of God. An intelligent layman has well expressed himself on the last point, as follows:

"No other author, ancient or modern, has been subjected to any such ridiculous criticism; for not one of this class of critics would dare apply his system to Homer, or to Thucydides, or to any other historian. It is strange, but it is a fact, that only to ancient Hebrew literature, in the Bible, has any one ever dreamed of applying the system. It would be ridiculed by the whole world of scholarship, if applied to any other department of historical literature. And if directed toward any practical subject, in which men had immediate personal interest, it would have no currency, make no impression. But for that seeming original perversity which leads so many to wish that the Bible might be proved a fable, this modern Biblical criticism would have been recognized everywhere as flimsy and of no value—would, indeed, have had no existence."*

Thirdly, It is worthy of note, how offensive and insolent is the spirit of the modern attacks on the Bible. In a style most flip-pant and conceited, they brush all real evidence aside; and after we have presented full and complete historic proof of the error of their statements, they reaffirm those statements as if nothing had been or could be said against them.

Fancy a man standing up and announcing, in a dogmatic manner, that St. John did not write his Gospel, as if he had received a direct revelation of the news. He does not go on as he ought to, and tell his people what Westcott says, that "the chain of evidence in support of this Gospel is complete; that not one historical doubt is raised

from any quarter." He does not refer them to Watkins, nor quote his words: "There has been no decade of any century of the Church's history, from the end of the second down to the end of the eighteenth, in which the undisputed acceptance of the fourth Gospel in the Church cannot be traced: Catholics—Anglican, Roman, and Greek; Protestants—Lutheran, Reformed, Nonconforming; tradition of the Church, consciousness of the individual, history, criticism, the practical test of use and effect in Christendom during these hundreds of years, all utter one voice." He does not, perhaps he dares not, tell his people that our great Lightfoot wrote, with dying hand, "We are compelled on critical grounds to accept this fourth Gospel as the genuine work of John the son of Zebedee." He does not tell them of Ezra Abbot and Andrew P. Peabody, and their unanswerable works in proof, on external and internal evidence, of the authorship of St. John. In fact, his is a higher criticism; much higher; by its aid men leave the solid ground and soar away on the fitful current of the uncertain wind. The authority of the Church, tradition, the verdict of the centuries, the conclusions of scholars, the preponderating weight of evidence, must yield to the higher value of a private opinion held in defiance of them all.

The question about the authorship of St. John's Gospel is but one instance of the way in which people have been fooled to-day: they are driven from their moorings on the sure anchorage of the Word of God, by bold talk and claims which cannot be maintained. Yet, were there time, it would be in order to show them how very little, at the worst, these enemies of ours can effect. Hostile criticism, after all the hard work of the last one hundred years, has been forced to partial concessions. Even the most radical of that class now admit that the Epistles to the Romans, first and second to the Corinthians, and the Epistle to the Galatians were undoubtedly written by St. Paul not later than twenty-five or twenty-eight years after the death of the Lord.*

Now these writings alone contain the whole Gospel, as we believe it; if it need documentary proof it has it in these, which can never again be attacked by any sane author. And again the people should consider how the Church is behind and back of the New Testament. There were no documents at all in the first age, yet the Gospel was taught as we have received it. The New Testament did not take its final shape

* See article by W. C. Prime, in *Journal of Commerce*, April 23, 1891, entitled "Flimsy Criticism."

* See the Bedell Lectures, by the Rev. David H. Greer, D.D., 1889.

till the fourth century ; yet the Church all that time grew and spread from land to land. Her testimony as witness to the truth cannot by any effort be silenced ; and we may with modesty and with confidence predict the arrival of a day of reaction, when assaults like those which we have been considering will have little or no weight with the people, and when it will take something stronger than the opinion of a skeptic to shake them from their foundation on the testimony of the Church to the value of her inherited treasures. From legitimate criticism, on the line of historic witness and external evidence, we have nothing to fear. From illegitimate criticism, on the line of conjecture and intuition, we have only to fear panic on the part of the weaker sort ; but panics are brief, and early come to an end.

There is one more point which I wish now to commend to your reflections. In this controversy over the trustworthiness of the Bible is bound inextricably and indissolubly the question as to the trustworthiness and veracity of our Lord Jesus Christ. The end of the displacement of the Bible from our lecterns as a truthful book would be the dethronement of Christ as a teacher of the truth. Questions have been raised as to the limitation of His human knowledge ; we know that He grew in wisdom as well as in stature ; He told us that on some points,—as on the coming of the last day,—neither He, nor the angels of heaven, had knowledge, but only the Father. But to build on such admitted facts and statements a theory which would represent Him as having been deceived by frauds and forgeries, as constantly appealing to books as little worthy of respect as the False Decretals, as drawing arguments from writings of whose spurious character men must have been aware, admitting that their origin was so recent as our critics say it was ; this is to push the matter to a point at which we must deny the authority of Christ over our intellect, and dismiss Him as a teacher on whom we can depend. It is a dreadful prospect, but it is the point to which this free and flimsy criticism tends. Christ, the ignorant, the dupe of literary frauds ; could He have been the only wise God, the Light, the Truth ? Was He then more than a man, a fallible man, a teacher who might sit with advantage at the feet of some modern professor and learn lessons from him ? It is an awful thing to put into words ; but I ask you, How could you keep on thinking as you do about your Lord, trusting to His every word, feeling Him to be all that He

is to you, kneeling to Him, praying to Him, commending yourself to Him for life, for death, for eternity, if meanwhile you felt you had the right, after all this, to sit down in cold blood to study the subject of the Blunders of Jesus, and His Mistakes in dealing with the Scriptures of His day, or worse, to ask yourself the question, Why, if He really knew better, He kept on speaking, and arguing and preaching as He did, but never gave a hint that the whole Jewish people had been deceived about their Scriptures, and that He intended to keep up the deception ? Is this, indeed, the inner, the real meaning of much that we hear about us in very careful language, in very deceptive words, in general and loose phrases, about the assured results of modern scholarship, and the cancelling of the judgment of centuries ? Does it mean that numbers are drifting into bald Socinianism, and ready to deny that Christ was and is God over all, blessed for evermore ? The Old and the New Testaments belong to each other ; the Old leads into the New, and the New bears witness to the Old. We accept, we love them both. We feel that to destroy confidence in either is to destroy confidence in both. The New Testament, when most vehemently attacked, has been most successfully defended. It will be so with the Old, on which the assault is to-day most violent. The battle against God's Word to man has been incessant, however that Word has come to us ; it has always ended in impressing men more deeply with the wisdom of trusting to Him rather than to themselves. The foundation of the Lord standeth sure. Jesus Christ is the Infallible Word of God ; and the Word of our God, by His mouth, is the truth for time and for eternity.

THE LONDON COUNCIL AND CALVINISM.

BY THE REV. T. T. MUNGER, D.D.

From *The Christian Union* (Undenom.), New York, December 12, 1891.

THE International Council is too great an event to be quickly forgotten. It was great in itself—as a meeting of the representatives of the Congregational Churches of the world. If nothing of moment had been said, the ingrafting, as it were, of the 700 churches of Sweden, the 1,300 of Madagascar, and the 71 of Japan upon the original English and American stock is to be regarded as a “great act of God.” What was said there will not be long remembered, but

what was *done* by the mere act of coming together from the ends of the earth and thus confessing one Lord and one Faith will have a vital and enduring influence.

The Council was not called to discuss theology, nor to make a doctrinal deliverance; nevertheless, theology was an ever-present theme, and was abundantly discussed in the sense that it was largely unfolded, and that theological beliefs and opinions were fully and clearly revealed. The delegates separated, pondering, not the social questions that had been discussed, nor the varying methods of ecclesiastical administration in the two countries, but the theological revelations that were made. For all men who have to do with the kingdom of God know by a true instinct that theology underlies and determines service. No effort was made to secure a declaration of faith, unless a dramatic and unauthorized scene at the closing session be regarded as an exception; but the delegates separated with as thorough a knowledge of each other's opinions as if they had discussed and adopted a creed.

The most significant feature of the Council was the relation in which it put itself to Calvinism. This was inevitable after the challenge thrown out by the opening sermon. Of this sermon I will say nothing except that it was *not* irenic, and that it was a defense of Calvinism and an attack upon modern Biblical criticism. But if it did not breathe a spirit of peace and unity over a set of men who, never having met before, and having come together for conference, presumably needed to be brought together under some inclusive truth, it served the far different but perhaps no less useful end of leading every delegate and every Congregationalist who read it to ask himself, Am I a Calvinist? No reference to the sermon was made in the Council for the simple reason that, so far as the English delegates were concerned, there was no occasion to discuss it; they were of one mind; and if the American delegates approved, courtesy forbade any protest. The sermon had this great value: it brought out the fact that English Congregationalists have so far parted with Calvinism, as indicated in the sermon, as to have no interest in it; and that Biblical criticism with them is so purely a matter of scientific investigation and common sense that it is not to be preached up or down; to denounce it is to denounce reading and writing and grammar and history. But if the sermon was not discussed, it rendered the Council sensitive to every theological utterance, and served as a fine

background for the papers of Professor Simon and Dr. Conder, who repudiated Calvinism as thoroughly as the sermon called for its revival. Professor Simon's declarations were unmistakable and emphatic: "Scarcely a passing reference now made to the divine sovereignty; the divine decrees and predestination have been exorcised; election has been metamorphosed. In dealing with *man* our starting-point is less and less distinctly the Fall, inherited depravity, guilt, and moral inability; instead we dwell on his filial relation to God, either by nature or in Christ, on the good that is to be found even in the worst, on his weakness, conflicts, sorrows, misfortunes, and assert either his freedom or blamelessness for the lack thereof. The relation of the atonement to God is chiefly one of revelation; conversion has been well-nigh converted into decision for Christ, regeneration into a process of spiritual culture. On the question of man's future destiny we are in the main divided between universalism, the doctrine of life in Christ, the Larger Hope, and various phases of a noncommittal position—the sterner views of a generation ago seem to have well-nigh disappeared." He regards these changes as amounting to "a revolution," and interprets them as "a reaction against dogma." He denies that "saving faith is the belief of saving truth," and insists that "nothing can generate and nourish Christian life but the personal action of the personal God, rendered possible through Christ's work and through faith in Christ"—views which he ascribes to English Congregationalists.

Dr. Conder spoke much in the same way. He said the Old Theology had disappeared: "Moderate Calvinism is no longer to be found in British Congregationalism. We have lost orthodoxy, but have gained Christ. The old theology did not perish under the assault of a rival system; it did not quail before a logic more rigorous than its own. It expired because an atmosphere had been created in which it could not breathe."

Such words as these, coming from able and leading men chosen to speak upon this subject, fully and fairly indicate the theological position of English Congregationalists; they have wholly broken with Calvinism as a doctrinal system. The position is, of course, in sharp contrast with our own, for, whatever our opinions may be, few have as yet discarded the name and form of Calvinism. For various reasons, or for no reason, we cling to a word and thing from which we have largely parted. Probably the overshadowing presence of Presbyterianism

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on one hand and the Unitarian movement on the other have served to make us timid in our utterances, and have induced us to claim an orthodoxy in name which we no longer hold in substance. For, assuredly, there are not many in New England who would subscribe to Calvinism when fairly interpreted. It is only when transformed into *zeal*, as it was by one of our delegates, or something else as remote, that it commands assent. Hence there is a certain lack of freedom and clearness of views observable here that is not seen in England. The difference is due to two sets of causes, operating in one way here, in another way there. Here we are terrorized by the huge shadow of Presbyterianism, which is organized Calvinism. A New England theologian never speaks without incurring an attack from Princeton, and the victory was always with Princeton, because it was logical in its Calvinism, while the New England man always insisted on some modifications of his own drawn from philosophy, or from common sense, which is not a recognized authority in theological controversy. The Unitarian movement, never having been rightly understood, made us timid. Instead of relaxing our orthodoxy—for such was its lesson—we intensified it and used a monition as a bugbear to frighten off all independent thinking. For half a century we have lived under the tyranny of names and epithets. It has hardly been necessary to try a minister for heresy; the accusation, well bruited by the denominational paper, was enough to kill and bury him theologically. There was one who was wise enough not to be tried and strong enough not to be killed—Horace Bushnell. Since he lived it has been somewhat easier for a man to speak his thought.

In England all is different. Congregationalists there are also overshadowed by a great Church, but its theology is practical, broad, and mild in temper, and is interpreted by catholic-minded men. While antagonizing the dissenting bodies ecclesiastically, its influence over them has been to soften their harsh beliefs and to win them toward its own. In England, also, there is closer contact with the sources of thought and movement. It is still in Europe that philosophy and theology have their origin; there is the learning of the world; there scholars and thinkers live in close and thought-breeding contact. One of the chief reasons why the theology of England is in advance of ours, or rather is more distinctly asserted, is because their social problems require it. Here our problems have not been so pressing; we have not until recently

seemed to think that the Church had much to do with society and its life, but only with the individual and his destiny. Our theology and our preaching have taken form and color from personal salvation, and not from social regeneration. The transfer of emphasis is one of the causes of the changes in theology. The preacher of the Council sermon has recently said that he heard little in England of the divinity of Christ, but much of his humanity. It is because in England they feel the need of a Christ who is human; because they have learned that religion is a matter of human living, and because society is crying out for a real redemption. When one has gained such a conception of Christianity and got to living under it, he ceases to take any interest in that he has left behind. Salvation as the removal of a condemnation imposed in consequence of sin in Adam, and effected by the expiatory sacrifice of Christ, who thus assumes guilt and works out a fund of righteousness to be appropriated by believing that all this is so—to such a theology as this one never returns who has once discarded it.

This explains the attitude of the English delegates toward the outcropping of Calvinism seen in the Americans; they listened patiently but not sympathetically; and if they had spoken they would have said, You are twenty years behind us. They have reached their position, not by controversy nor through the influence of strong leaders, but by the surer process of growth and development. They have kept pace with the world; they have breathed the air of the age; they have respected learning and science; they have listened to the great men of the century—Dr. Arnold, McLeod Campbell, Maurice, Carlyle, Tennyson, Robertson, Stanley, Matthew Arnold—and, having come to their present phase of belief by so legitimate a process, they hold it with composure and strength.

My object is not so much to defend this position as to describe it, and to point out its significance and its lesson to ourselves.

In this revolution of belief our English brethren have lost their faith and yet they retain it; they have parted with Calvinism, and taken up a practical theology based on the Incarnation and having for its end a realization of the divine life in man as salvation for the individual and the true order of society. This is the achievement we are called to make—to pass from one form of the Faith to another without loss, or, if with some loss, for the sake of greater gain.

There is another lesson to be drawn from the Council—more necessary and even more

plainly taught; namely, a lesson in *tolerance*. There may be some hesitation in respect to theology; there can be no question as to that which is greater than "faith and hope."

The greater, though not a disproportionate, part of our delegates were conservative in their theology—"moderate Calvinists" they would call themselves, holding to the Old Theology, and with more or less vigor opposing the New—the opposition often reaching persecution. Ministers who hold to the New Theology often have found it difficult to secure or retain their pulpits because of aspersions from their brethren; they have been shut out from the deliberations of the denomination and treated as though they had no place in it. But it is unnecessary to describe a history that is fast drawing to a close—a process that should be hastened by the experience of the Council. Our delegates found themselves face to face with a set of men who five years ago could not have passed the ordeal of an installing council unchallenged. They found themselves obliged to fellowship men holding opinions which for fifteen years they have claimed should not be tolerated in Congregational churches. In short, they found themselves in the presence of New Theology—precisely such as they had left at home; and it was overwhelmingly in the majority, and, being in the majority, the question was not how they would treat *it*, but how *it* would treat them. But there was no need of question. Tolerance is a part of New Theology; to withhold it would be as absurd as for a Calvinist to deny election. Our conservative delegates found themselves associated on terms of fellowship with a body of men who were their equals in every respect of learning and ability and piety, holding a clear and definite faith and abundantly able to give a reason for it, and as competent as themselves to declare what the faith of Congregationalism shall be, if a declaration were to be made. It is hardly possible that such fellowship should not bear fruits at home, and that the toleration rendered necessary there should not be freely accorded here. A Congregational minister is nothing if he is not logical; let us hope that it will not fail our conservative delegates when there is so fine a field for its exercise.

But something more than toleration will be gained. Variation from the old standards here has been regarded as due to some special cause in each case; to some idiosyncrasy of mind or temper, or to some special influence—local or personal. There has been a steady refusal to recognize the New

Theology as a general movement. Such a view can no longer be held by those who have seen the Congregational churches of Great Britain. No candid mind can fail to see that the movement here and there has been one and the same; there and here it is a reaction against the Old Theology, induced by the same causes and pointing to the same ends. It would seem impossible that this movement should be spread out so clearly as it was in the able papers of Professor Simon and Dr. Conder and Professor Stearns, and intimated no less clearly in the opening address by Dr. Dale, as embracing the working theology of the English delegates and the Gospel they preached by and lived by, without making a profound impression on the minds of the American delegates. If such an impression was made, it is not difficult to tell where it will lead. As pity is akin to love, so toleration is akin to acceptance. But if this is too much to look for at present, we may rejoice in the assurance that a spirit of toleration will henceforth pervade the Congregational churches of our country. If not, the London Council will have stultified itself in its American delegates.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON HELL.

BY RT. REV. MGR. DE CONCILIO.

From *The Freeman's Journal* (R. C.), New York, December 12, 1891.

THERE IS AN ABSOLUTE ETERNAL PUNISHMENT FOR MORTAL SIN; THERE IS THE POSSIBILITY OF A SUSPENSION OF GOD'S JUDGMENT FOR CERTAIN ENDS IN SOME CASES; THERE IS NO SPECIAL DECISION AS TO THE NATURE OR SUBSTANCE OF THE PUNISHMENT, BUT THE DENIAL OF THE BEATIFIC VISION, THE EVERLASTING IMPERATIVE CRAVING OF THE UNSATISFIED SOUL, EXCEEDS THAT OF MATERIAL FIRE.

ST. MICHAEL'S RECTORY, JERSEY CITY, N. J.

Editor of the New York Freeman's Journal:

DEAR SIR: Since the "Presbyterian tangle," as the *New York Sun* has very aptly called it, I have been asked several questions, from Catholics as well as non-Catholics, upon some of the most important topics connected with the controversy. I have endeavored to reply to them to the best of my ability. Will you permit me to ventilate them briefly in your valuable paper? They may do good to many a soul seeking for truth.

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The first question is about eternal punishment. I have been asked, Does Catholic doctrine allow any let up with regard to the eternal punishment of those who die in mortal sin, that is, absolutely estranged from God, and with their will obdurately attached to things in utter opposition to the moral law? The answer to this is: Catholic doctrine admits for such as those I have mentioned a punishment absolutely eternal, that is, lasting forever, without any redemption whatever. The reason for such doctrine is twofold. First, true revelation, as made to God's Church and as always held and maintained by the same. Second, our own reason. The most essential attributes of God are involved in that question. A man whilst in life may defy God and His law at his own pleasure. He dies in that defiance, and that criminal bent of his will, that obduracy in sin, that perverseness remains and is carried by him into the next life. He stands before God as a rebel, defying and hurling, as it were, insults and blasphemy at Him. Suppose God were obliged to take such a rebel to His embraces, what would be the consequence? Who would be the master in this conflict, God or the criminal? Evidently the criminal. Who can fail to see that God's independence would be gone, that He would be the slave and man the master? And what kind of a God would He be who were forced to submit to a perfidious, obdurate rebel? The very existence, then, of God is involved in the doctrine of eternal punishment. If a man leaves this world in a state of criminal opposition to God and to His law, let him remain so and take the consequences. No compromise, therefore, can be made as to the doctrine of everlasting punishment.

The second question which I have been frequently asked is: Is there any redemption allowed to any one dying in the state of mortal sin? In other words, is any one after death allowed any time to change and to be freed from that punishment? Catholic doctrine answers, No, as a general rule applied in the universality of cases. But it allows the possibility of some having died in mortal sin and who, by a special providence of God, have had their final judgment suspended until it pleased the same God, for some special end, known to Him, to dispose of them. Second, that which has happened to some may happen also to some others. It is the common doctrine of theologians that such was the case with all those who after being dead were restored to life by the prophets of old, by our Blessed Lord, by His apostles and by all God's saints. Some of

those may have died in mortal sin; their final judgment was suspended because they were to be restored to life for the glory of God and the propagation of His kingdom. Now, it is a doctrine of Catholic theology, also, that all those who by a miracle of God were benefited as to their bodily welfare were also and more especially benefited as to their spiritual welfare. Therefore, if any of those who were restored to life had died in mortal sin, they were not left to die until they had put their will in conformity with the moral law and made their peace with God.

A third question is frequently: In what does hell really consist in? Catholic doctrine teaches neither more nor less than that hell is a state of everlasting punishment. This eternal punishment, as understood by the Church and all the Fathers and Doctors, consists in the eternal privation of the beatific vision of God and the consequences which depend upon the same privation. We say, consequences depending upon that privation, because the end of the rational creature is the beatific vision. The eternal happiness, therefore, of the same rational creature consists in the attainment of that vision. Once that vision is lost the rational creature has lost its end, its destiny and its happiness. It is a being out of its centre at war with its most imperative cravings. It is a living contradiction. This implies a psychological pain worse than anything which could be imagined. This is all that any one is bound to believe touching hell. With regard to all other questions the Church has made no definition whatever. Hence, first, whether hell is a peculiar place or not we are not told by any definition; second, neither are we bound to hold that in hell there is actual sensible fire as an instrument of inflicting pain. This, not on account of there being any contradiction in supposing that a material fire could affect a spiritual principle, because such supposition cannot be maintained in the presence of the fact of our perceptions affecting our souls, but because God's Church has defined nothing about the matter. Third, as to the intensity of pain the Church is also silent and leaves us free. We are also free to maintain consistently with Catholic teaching that God's mercy may from time to time assuage and alleviate the pains of the damned in the manner in which, in His infinite wisdom, he shall see fit. Also we are at liberty to indulge in the hope that under the same infinite mercy that pain may be diminished, provided we maintain that it can never cease, but must endure for eternity.

This, in a few words, is what Catholic

doctrine has taught with regard to hell. It will be seen when well examined and carefully meditated upon, it can stand the test of the severest criticism, that it is in full conformity with the reason, that, unless we distort and change the nature of sin and moral delinquency, we find that hell is but the necessary consequence of the same, made everlasting; because in the next world no rehabilitation is possible under the general rule of Providence. Nor does this doctrine just as explained have any tendency to lessen the horror of that state. It might for those who cannot rise above the material and the sensible, but for such as can conceive the state of a rational being which has lost its destiny and its end forever, a destiny toward which it tends with all the intensity of its craving; for one who can conceive how such a being is placed in an unnatural state, a state of internal violence with itself, then one can easily perceive that all the horrors of hell fire are child's play to that state of internal and everlasting warfare, of imperative craving left bleeding and unsatisfied. Yours in Christ,

J. DE CONCILIO.

JOHN WESLEY'S "CHAPEL."

From *The Church Times* (Ch. Eng.), London, November 20, 1891.

JOHN WESLEY'S "City Road Chapel," which has just been restored and decorated at great cost by the Wesleyan Methodists, is henceforward to be known as "John Wesley's Chapel." The last word has given rise to some searchings of heart and much controversy among the Methodists. In all other parts of England the Methodists, like the other sects, are erasing the word "Chapel" from their notice boards and substituting the word "Church." A writer in the *Methodist Recorder* complains of "the uncertainty and diversity" produced by this change of substantives. In the town where he lives there are two Methodist preaching-houses; one is called a "chapel," and the other is called a "church." He tells a story of a Wesleyan servant-maid in another town who was perverted from "the Church of her fathers" by this new legerdemain which is converting the chapels into churches. She went out one Sunday night intending to go to the Wesleyan chapel, but she could not find one as they had all become "churches," so she went to a Congregationalist meeting-house. The writer entreats the authorities of his sect to decree that all its preaching-houses shall be called "chapels" or that all

shall be called "churches." The Rev. W. Scarborough, at the recent opening of a rebuilt Wesleyan preaching-house at Whitby, told the people that it was "a new church built on the site of an old chapel." By what ecclesiastical process does the builder convert a chapel into a church? Does brick make it a chapel and stone make it a church? or is a Georgian building a chapel, and a Gothic building a church? The President of the Conference has given his reasons, we are told, for preferring the word "chapel" to the word "church." We have not read them. But it is curious that the Conference should have officially refused to give the name of a "church" to "the only Nonconformist place of worship that may be looked upon as having anything approaching to a cathedral position"—so the *Methodist Recorder* says of the City-road Chapel—and should have officially desired that it shall be called henceforward John Wesley's "Chapel."

That was the name which Wesley himself, for reasons which the modern Methodists very well know, gave to the building. He built it as a "Nonconformist" chapel, but not as a Separatist or Dissenting chapel, which it now is. The "Nonconformists," in contradistinction to the Dissenters or Separatists, always claimed to be members of the Church of England; that is the reason why, as Richard Baxter again and again explained, they scrupulously refused to give their buildings the name of "churches," and in all cases called them "chapels."

In the *Nonconformist's Plea*, published in 1679, Baxter said:—

The most of our acquaintances take it their duty to do their best to keep up the reputation of the publick conformable ministry, and the success of their labours with the people. And they profess to take their own assemblies but as *chapels*, and not as distinct, much less as separated *churches*. And those of them who do administer the Sacraments, and do that which is like the Separatists' way, yet do it not on their principles: it being reformed and well-ordered parish churches, under the government and countenance of the Christian magistrate, which are most agreeable to the Nonconformists' desires.

This was the original meaning of the word "chapel" as applied to a building not directly belonging to the Church of England, nor under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of the diocese and the priest of the parish. The Nonconformists expected that as soon as their powerful aristocratic and plutocratic patrons could secure the "comprehension" of their ministers in the National Church, all these "chapels" would become the property of the Church. The

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Separatists or Dissenters (the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers), did not at first give the Popish and anti-Christian name of "chapel" to their buildings. They preferred to call them meeting-houses.

John Wesley was much more of the High Churchman than Richard Baxter was, though he was extremely like Baxter in his amazing individuality and self-sufficiency. We use both words in their best sense. He laid the foundation stone of the City-road Chapel in 1777, and opened it in 1778. It was not an isolated ecclesiastical phenomenon of the period. There were other huge London chapels at that time, all of them now in possession of Dissenters or Separatists, which were founded upon this original Nonconformist principle that they were neither to belong to the Church nor to the Dissenting foes of the Church. Wesley's great chapel (unless we take the Foundry as its predecessor) was preceded by Whitefield's "Tabernacles" in Moorfields and Tottenham Court-road, and it was followed by Rowland Hill's great Surrey "Chapel" in the Blackfriars-road, which was opened in 1783. Even Rowland Hill protested that he was not a Dissenter, and again and again expressed a wish that his successor in his "chapel" should be a clergyman of the Church of England, and not a Dissenting preacher. It was Rowland Hill's own individualist and pontifical property. He was resolved that it should not come under episcopal or parochial jurisdiction, and yet should not be a Dissenting conventicle. Hence he hoped that he should find some English priest "of our own Establishment," as he called the Church, who, "panting for more liberty," would be tempted to accept "the preferment of Surrey chapel." The fates of Whitefield's Tabernacle and Rowland Hill's Surrey chapel are instances how the Independent sect has grown, which has not been by its own inherent forces, but by its outward and accidental inheritance of buildings and funds which were never intended to be used for Independent purposes—least of all to be fortresses set up against the Church. If Wesley, or even his Calvinist and less Churchly opponents, Whitefield and Hill, could have foreseen to what purposes their chapels would in the end be perverted, it is very doubtful whether they would have built them.

The Wesleyan preachers, at the reopening of Wesley's City-road chapel, said many bitter things against the Church of England. But the hatred of the preachers to the English Church seems to be not near so bitter as is their spiteful railing at the young folk of Methodism, who leave "the Church of their

fathers," the Wesleyan or Methodist Sect, for the Church of their grandfathers, their parish, their diocese, and their fatherland. Considering that it is only in this present year 1891 that the heads of the sect have discovered and decreed that the sect is not a "society," but is a "Church," and have only just officially altered their title to fit it to this discovery, they are rather hard upon the young men and women for not having been beforehand in this discovery. But the real sting of the "drift" of the better educated Wesleyans from their sect to Wesley's Church lies in the fact that the preachers know that the young folk are following Wesley's own counsels. Not a preacher amongst them, at the reopening of Wesley's Chapel, from the President downwards, would have had the courage to re-deliver to his assembled fellow-preachers Wesley's own solemn charge to their predecessors. And yet, if they be really "Mr. Wesley's preachers," as they suppose they are, the charge is as binding upon them as it was upon their predecessors. The *Methodist Recorder* seems to fear that it may be quoted, for it urgently cautions its readers to be on their guard against "the misrepresentations of Wesley's life and work by High Church speakers and writers." The truth is, the modern Wesleyan Methodist is in as great a terror of Wesley's own words as the Pope and the Anglican Church, or the Eastern Bishops, are supposed to be of the words of Holy Scripture. The Conference ought to revise Wesley's writings in the interests of the new Wesleyan "Church," and solemnly condemn and burn everything in them which is awkward for the "Forward men." What can be more awkward than the charge which the patriarch of Methodism addresses to President Stephenson and "the Waker of the West," as the *Pall Mall Gazette* calls the Sunday preacher of St. James's Hall? "Warn the people," says John Wesley to the Wesleyan preachers, "against calling our society a Church, or the Church, or our preachers ministers." He foresaw and weighed all the arguments which they would urge for schism, and therefore said to them in the same address: "Ye have, and will have, a thousand temptations to set up for yourselves. Regard them not. Be Church of England men still."

John Wesley was too clear a thinker not to know that men cannot make a private religious "society" into a "Church," or "the Church," simply by voting that they will henceforward call it a "Church." There can be but one Church. This Church God has made once for all by His Son, and into it He incorporates men and wom-

en, not by their votes and resolutions that they will call themselves "a Church," but by His Spirit, through the Sacrament of Baptism. If Mr. Wesley's preachers and their hearers are members of the one Church, it is because they are baptized, and not because they are Wesleyans. The very name "Wesleyan Methodist Church" would have filled Wesley's soul with horror. "Let all our preachers," said he, "go to Church." He added no codicil to release Mr. H. P. Hughes and the "Forward men." That by "Church" he did not mean his own Chapels, as they may casuistically affect to believe, is clear from his own further emphatic explanation of his meaning. "Alter all plans that will interfere therewith. Let all their people attend Church constantly, and receive the Sacrament every opportunity. Our service is not designed to be instead of the Church service." On the very year in which John Wesley died, one of the preachers, Thomas Taylor, agitated for the violation of his will and plan. Taylor had been educated as a Presbyterian, and had learned the Assembly's Catechism by heart when he was four years old. In spite of the opposition of those whom he called "the Church party" in the society, he opened the new chapel in Liverpool during church hours. He tells us in his diary that he showed them that it was "scriptural and reasonable. All they could say was, that it was the old plan (not to set up Methodism as a schism) and that God had blessed it, and that John Wesley had said, if the Methodists leave the Church, God would leave them." Taylor's next step, as he saw the Methodists still go to church for Holy Communion, was to usurp the priest's office. "Though I had been a preacher thirty years or more," said he, "yet I had never received any formal ordination by the imposition of hands. And although I believed it lawful, yet I did not think it expedient to celebrate the Lord's Supper without some formality of that kind I submitted to a formal ordination." Whence he obtained this mere form we know not. But his case is an early specimen of the small regard paid by the self-exalting preachers to Wesley.

THE CONVERSION OF CHILDREN.

BY REV. THEODORE L. CUYLER, D.D.

From *The Examiner* (Bapt.), New York, November 26, 1891.

THE most important ten years of human life are from six to sixteen years of age.

An enormous proportion, perhaps a majority of people, who pass twenty-one irreligious are never converted at all. Mr. Spurgeon says that the most healthy Christians in his church are commonly those who began to serve Christ when they were young. Such has been my experience and that of many other pastors. Yet some very worthy Christians are strangely skeptical in regard to the conversion of children—especially their own children.

In my humble opinion, if a child can love its parent, and trust its parent, and obey its parent, it can love and trust and obey God. These three mental acts are the very essence of Bible-piety. An ordinary child of ten years can appreciate the story of Christ's life, his deeds of mercy, the sweetness of his promises, and the meaning of his death for sinners, about as well as a man of three-score. A child can love the Lord Jesus with all the ingenuous ardor of its young heart; and in every thought and act towards Christ that child may have the supernatural aid of the Holy Spirit. Just as soon as your son and daughter are old enough to understand right from wrong, they are old enough to do right or wrong. Doing right is a religious act; doing wrong is sin. Sorrow for wrong-doing is contrition. Ceasing to do wrong, from right motive, is repentance. Asking Christ to forgive wrong is an act of faith. Keeping Christ's commandments is the very core of Christianity. Surely, there are innumerable instances in which children have exhibited all these "fruits of the Holy Spirit." Some of the most beautiful examples of deep and fervent piety that I have ever witnessed have been displayed by hearts that were under twelve years of age.

It may be said that "children's minds are volatile and changeable." So they often may be, and therefore require all the more of wise and careful handling. But are grown people never changeable? Do men and women of forty years old never become backsliders? I had rather risk the volatility of childhood than the temptations to self-seeking sharpness and worldliness that beset middle life. If childhood is credulous, manhood and old age are too apt to be skeptical. Better a heart that believes too much and too easily than one that is too slow to believe and to move at all. Oh, be assured, all ye pastors and parents and teachers, that there is no such soil in the world for religious truth and converting grace as the heart of a frank and susceptible and teachable child. From such soil often grows the loftiest and sturdiest piety of after years.

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"Those that are planted in the house of the Lord flourish in the courts of our God."

WHEN BECOME CHURCH MEMBERS.

At what age should a child be admitted to the church? To this question the answer is that every one should be admitted to Christ's Church as soon as they give good evidence of Christian character and conduct. The church is for all who love the Lord Jesus and who seek to serve him. The Bible never makes age a condition of salvation. Shall a truly regenerated child be kept away from Christ's table until it has got over being a child? And what is the use of having a fold if the lambs are all to be kept out until they can stand rough weather?

Great care should be exercised in the admission of children into the church. Haste and injudicious handling may work a mischief that cannot easily be repaired. Not only should there be good evidence that the "root of the matter" is in the young heart, but the solemn and far-reaching step should be fully explained and thoroughly understood. In no direction is there more danger of sad blundering than in dealing with the souls of children. Sunday-school teachers often commit the most lamentable mistakes; and I have known some itinerant evangelists to pursue processes that were as absurd as they were mischievous. For example, several years ago an eminent "children's preacher" held some special services in a church not far from mine. He got together a crowd of Sunday-school youngsters, addressed them in an impassioned style, and then asked, "How many of you want to be Christians? Who of you loves the Lord Jesus?" Those who "rose up" or remained to be prayed with, were at once ticketed by this impulsive revivalist as young converts. He said to me at the end of a week of this hot-bed process, "I have had one hundred conversions in Mr. B——'s church." After a few months I asked Mr. B—— how many of those young "converts" gave good evidence of sound conversion? He replied, "Not over a dozen." Fortunately, the pastor was not so headlong as to rush all these crude cases into church membership. From long observation I have become convinced that the wholesale process of dealing with children is a monstrous mistake that is often fraught with most deplorable results.

In the recently published biography of that eminent servant of God, Professor Austin Phelps, is a most suggestive account of his own experience when he was twelve

years old. He says: "There was a revival of religion" (in his father's church) "which affected me powerfully for the time. I went through the usual excitement of such scenes, attended children's prayer-meetings, took prominent part in them, prayed much in secret, and thought of little else than the salvation of my soul. If any one at that crisis had kindly diverted my thoughts from the idea of regeneration to that of simple right living in the ways natural to a child, I think I might then have become a child of God. What I needed was to be made to believe in truth-telling, honesty, honor, unselfishness, care for the happiness of others as well as love to God and trust in Christ as Christian things. I had no conception of them as such. I longed for, and prayed for, and—worst of all—waited for some sublime and revolutionary change of heart; and what that was as a fact in a child's experience I had not the remotest idea. My belief is that hundreds of older people turned to God in that revival. But I have yet to learn of one of my own age who was at all benefited by it. To me it was an unmitigated evil, hardening my religious sensibilities, and the prelude to a period of worldliness in which I lived without prayer."

Professor Phelps was not only a brilliant scholar, but a devout and orthodox theologian, and his testimony here is of great value on two important points. He emphasizes the importance of ethical instruction with children. To ask a child only these questions "Do you love Christ?" and "Do you want to be a Christian?" and then fail to tell them that the only proof of that "love" is that they aim to keep Christ's commandments is a fearful mistake. It is an appeal to the emotions and not to the conscience, and it is likely to end in a thin, vaporous religion, or in a reaction towards hardness of heart. Conduct is the main idea to be kept before a child's mind, and when the Holy Spirit is doing a genuine work on that child the result is seen in making that child a better boy and a better girl in the home, in the school, in its plays, and everywhere else. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

The other important point is that in a revival, no one needs more wise and careful and prayerful handling than the young and susceptible. They are so liable to be carried away by currents of sympathy or else misled by well-meaning but injudicious bunglers. The wholesale process of dealing with them in the mass—whether by an evangelist, or a pastor, or a Sunday-school superintendent—is fraught with prodigious

dangers. Each child should be dealt with individually, and according to its peculiar temperament and surroundings. A parent is God's appointed trustee of a child's soul, and a Christian home is God's ordained training-school. When the child has no such home-influence, then the pastor and the Sunday-school teacher should fervently pray for common sense and divine direction, as well as for loving patience, while they are attempting to guide childish hearts to Jesus and to a true Christian life.

WHERE WAS PARADISE SITUATED?

BY PROFESSOR DR. FRITZ HOMMEL.

From *The Sunday-School Times* (Udenom.), Philadelphia, December 5, 1891.

LIKE the vibration from a lost bell, there comes down to us from the remotest past, in the traditions and tales of ancient peoples, the knowledge of a long-vanished, happy childhood of the human race. A wondrous garden, watered by four rivers, with the tree of knowledge (the tree of life of the Babylonians) in its midst, and therein man walking still in the state of innocence in immediate intercourse with his Maker,—this is the pith of those traditions which the Bible has preserved for us in simple beauty, and, as compared with others, in the purest and most faithful account.

"Thereupon," says the oldest narration in the Scriptures (Gen. 2 : 8 ff.), "Jahveh planted a park in Eden [that is, in the hitherto waste and unplanted plain; Babylonian *edinu*] in the [far] East, and brought thither the man whom he had formed. And out of the ground Jahveh made to grow trees of all kinds that are pleasant to see and bear well-tasted fruits. And in the midst of the garden the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. And a river went forth from Eden for watering the garden, and from thence it was parted into four heads. Then Jahveh took the man and put him into the Garden of Eden to till it and to keep it,"—and so on to Genesis 3 : 21.

The purpose of this paper is to show how exactly we can ascertain that the ancient Hebrews conceived of Paradise as in South Babylonia, at the mouth of the Euphrates and Tigris. If we examine more closely the Bible passage Genesis 2 : 11-14, it will appear, first of all, that, in spite of the express mention of the Tigris and the Euphrates, the matter is not as simple as might appear at first sight.

"And a river took its rise from Eden to water the garden, and from thence it parted, and that into four branches" (literally, "heads," or "sources"). To this passage, which we have translated already above, is joined, as a more exact explanation of the site of the garden, the following: "The name of the first is Pishon, that is it which encompasses the whole of Khavila, where there is gold, and the gold of that land is good; there also are found Bedolakh-resin and Schoham-stones. And the second river is called Gikhon; that is it which encompasses the whole of Kush. And the third river is called Khiddegel; that is it which flows along Asshur. And the fourth river is the Pèrat" (Babyl. *Purattu*).

Clear as it is that the Khiddegel (or Tigris, strictly *ghid-Deget*, Assyrian *Dijlat*, Arabic *Dijlat*) and the Euphrates in this connection point us to some province of Mesopotamia or Babylonia, it is just as hard to define that more exactly by the further details. These hitherto have been misunderstood, and thus have called forth an abundant literature on the theme "Where was Paradise Situated?" The way from the mountains of Armenia, in which both the Euphrates and the Tigris take their rise, down to the Persian Gulf, into which they both flow, is a long one, as everybody knows. The quite long and at the beginning extraordinarily wide territory, through which these two rivers pass from their source to their mouth, hardly can be identified with Paradise. But in what part of this extensive region was it that Hebrew tradition saw the garden of God? Was it in the wild highlands of Armenia, where, besides the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Araxes and the Halys take their rise? Or was it Mesopotamia, where, however, we should seek in vain for a Pishon or a Gihon? Or was it the northern part of Babylonia, where at one point the Euphrates and the Tigris draw so near each other that in times of flood they seem, in fact, to form but a single stream, and where canals large enough to be regarded as two other rivers branched off east and west from the Euphrates? Or, finally, was it the southern part of Babylonia, lying on the Gulf of Persia, where two rivers pouring in from Elam, the Kherkhah and the Karoon, might be thought, and actually have been thought, to be the Pishon and the Gihon?

Of the many attempts to answer this interesting question, two are especially worthy of attention, as the only two which have been made with the full equipment of science for the undertaking. The first is that

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by the eminent Assyriologist, Friedrich Delitzsch, in the first part of his work, "Where was Paradise Situated?" (*Wo lag das Paradies?*) Leipzig, 1881), in which, following the example of Augustin Hausrath, he decides for Northern Babylonia, and labors with great acuteness to prove the identity of the Pishon with the Pallakopas Canal, that of the Gihon with the Arakhtu or Shatt en-Nil, also a Euphrates canal,—the former on the Arabian, the latter on the eastern or Babylonian side of the Euphrates. The second is that of the famous Arabian traveler, Eduard Glaser, which, in the recently published second volume of his highly important book "Sketches of the History and the Geography of Arabia" (*Skizzen der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens.*) Berlin, 1890), endeavors to prove Southern Babylonia to be the only possible and imaginable site of Paradise according to the Hebrew—and, we may add, the old Babylonian—conception of the matter. And this he does in a way quite new, and hitherto never suggested.

Both scholars regard as decisive the definite statement of the Bible with regard to the Pishon and the Gihon, that they flow around the lands of Khavila and Kush. Upon the right location of the latter depends, first of all, the right decision of our question.

But before examining the situation of Khavila and Kush, we must look closer, for an instant, at the exact sense of that introductory statement, "And a river went forth from Eden to water the Garden, and from thence it was parted and became four heads." By "head" the Shemites, both in Hebrew and Babylonian Assyrian, designated the source of a stream. Now, in ordinary experience, a new stream is formed out of several source-rivulets; but never, in reverse fashion, does a stream, in the course of its flow, become a plurality of sources. It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that the word "heads" cannot be taken in its primary sense, but stands poetically as the part for the whole,—the head for the stream itself,—so that the passage only means that a stream—probably the greatest of those already mentioned, the Euphrates—arose in Eden, and in its long course, when near to its debouchment, received four—or, counting itself, three—other streams, forming with these a single river. And here we must not insist too much on the term "arose," or, literally, "went out from," as *edin* has for its first sense the plain, the depression, the wilderness; and in this the Euphrates does not take its rise, although it flows through

it. Or, as there still remain difficulties in the statement, and we must admit an obscurity in the mode of expression of the biblical writer, if not a corruption of the text, we may follow Glaser's explication of the passage (in page 320 of his book), that this branching off is to be understood as though we were proceeding up stream. The simple sense, then, is that farther down than Paradise lay there was a place of the union of four streams, whose waters were a blending of all four of the confluents. But, whichever may be the exact sense of the verse in question, it is quite beyond doubt that the writer of verses 11–14 had the idea of four streams which somewhere flowed into one, or at least emptied into the sea at no distance from each other, and that these did not flow around Paradise itself,—for in that case Khavila, Kush, and Asshur must have been portions of Paradise,—but in some part of their course touched it.

Now for Khavila and Kush themselves. Professor Friedrich Delitzsch had already taken a long step forward, when he ceased to look for Khavila beyond the Arabian peninsula almost as far as India, as entirely contrary to the sense and connection of the other passages of the Old Testament which treat of Khavila. But Eduard Glaser was the first to define the conception more exactly. This excellent, but hitherto so little assisted, student and explorer of Arabia, furnishes a completely convincing proof, in his "sketches," that Khavila does not designate, in a general way, the Arabian wilderness bordering on Babylonia (as Delitzsch supposed), but in every passage means one and the same district; namely, the mountain clump of Yemama, with its extensions north-west and south-west, therefore Central and Northern Arabia bordering on it. With this best agrees, in addition to the products, especially gold, named in Genesis 2:12, the placing of Khavila, in Genesis 10:29, between Jobab and Ophir, which latter Glaser, in a long excursus, shows to be Bahrein, on the Persian Gulf. Another confirmation of this view is found in the mention, in Genesis 10:7, of Khavila among the sons of Kush immediately after Seba, which is not the same as Sheba, or Saba, in South Arabia, but, according to Glaser, is to be sought rather in Jebel Shammar, made known to us by Lady Blunt's travels. Finally, it is confirmed by the designation, in Genesis 25:8 and 1 Samuel 15:7, of the boundaries of the Ishmaelites as extending "from Khavila unto Shûr that is before Egypt;" that is, in the northern part of the Peninsula of Sinai.

Even more interesting is the farther proof, by Glaser, of a great wady, or river-valley, of Yemâma, the Wady ad-Dawâsir, a part of which was called *Faishân*, which would read *Pêshôn* in Hebrew, and which used to flow into the Persian Gulf, but which, according to the ancients (Pliny and many Arabs), found its outlet rather into the Euphrates. That certainly was also the opinion of the ancient Hebrews. Even if the name *Faishân* were no longer to be traced in this connection, yet the biblical Pishon could, in fact, be nothing else than the wady running through the Yemâma-Khavyila. So much the more striking, however, is the proof of Glaser's accuracy through what he has brought forward with regard to this very name.

As regards the land of Kush, and the Gihon, which flowed around it, the old error that Kush in the Old Testament always means Ethiopia, has been fatal to a correct understanding of the matter. Friedrich Delitzsch was the first to break this bound, as he brought forward the Kossæan, called by the Babylonians the Kash, in the mountains lying northward from Elam, as explaining both the passage under consideration and also Genesis 10:8 ("And Kush begat Nimrod"). But he went too far in transferring the name Kash to Babylonia, on the ground that the Kossæans gave the Babylonians a dynasty which ruled it for several centuries, and in identifying the Gihon with the Arakhtu Canal, which flows through Central Babylonia, and was called by the Sumerians the Gukhan-di. It was an error to say that the name Kush ever was applied to Babylonia simply because kings of Cossæan stock reigned there in the second millennium before Christ. On the contrary,—as I was the first to show,—the Cossæans were the nearest kindred of the Elamites, and even almost identical with them. And it becomes more and more probable that Elam as a whole—not excepting the region north of it, known to the classic Greek writers and the inscriptions of the later Assyrian kings as the country of the Cossæans—was called Kash in earlier times. According to this, our Kush (originally *Kôsh* derived from *Kâsh*), is the same as Elam; and the Gihon is the Kherkhah, which rises in the Cossæan mountains, flows past Susa, and now empties into the Tigris below its union with the Euphrates, but which in ancient times perhaps found an outlet directly into the Persian Gulf.

It is true that the country of the Arabian Cushites meets the needs of the case equally well. This was the Jebel Shammar to the

Persian Gulf, along with the Wady Rumma,—a river-valley which, according to the Arabs, originally found its outlet into the Euphrates, as did the Wady ad-Dawâsir, or *Faishân*; that is, the Pishon. Glaser, with whom the suggestion is original, prefers this possibility, and calls attention to the fact that the Arabic poets knew of a *Gaihan* in this neighborhood, which afterwards lapsed out of recollection. In this he sees just the old name of the Wady Rumma. In this view of the matter, the Gihon also (originally *Gêhôn*, from *Gaihan*) is to be found in Arabia. It is here not the place to follow into detail the suggestions of Glaser's "Sketches," especially his expositions which cast a new light on ancient geography and history, and which show the movement of a Kushite colonization first from Kash-Elam to Arabia, and then across the Red Sea, whose final results were the giving to Nubia the names Ethiopia and Kush, and—as I shall show elsewhere—an extensive Elamite influence on the languages of Northwestern Africa.

But it is the old Babylonian mythology which supplies the best evidence that Southern Babylonia, where the four streams, Euphrates, Tigris, Wady ad-Dawâsir, and the Wady Rumma (or else the Kherkhah) find their outlet, was the locality accepted by the old Hebrews as the site of Paradise. On the lower Euphrates, somewhat east of Ur, but on the Babylonian, not, like Ur, on the Arabian, bank of the river, there stood the holy city Nun-Ki, or Eridu, the center of the oldest religious views of the Sumerians. In the neighborhood of this place, a Sumerian formula of incantation, whose date must be placed a considerable time before the year 2000 B.C., locates a holy tree, which at once reminds us of the tree in the Hebrew account of Paradise:

"In Nun-Ki (Eridu) there grew up a dark date-palm.

In a pure place it was created.

The [abode] of the god Ea is its meadow in Nun-Ki, profusion in plenty.

Its dwelling-place is the middle-point of the world.

Its leaves are the resting-couch of the mother, the goddess Ba'u.

... in its shining abode, which spreads shade like a wood, and into its recesses none may penetrate."

This is the sense of this interesting fragment in a literal translation (compare my "History of Babylonia and Assyria," pp. 197 f. and 398). In later days, when South Babylonia had exchanged its religious importance for one of more historical character, the Babylonians seem to have transferred

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Paradise southward from the outlet of the rivers to the sea, and to have conceived of it as an island of the blessed. The solitary island of Socotra, which lies in the Indian Ocean, but not too remote from Arabia on the one side and the Somali-land of Africa on the other, and which Glaser has identified with the Iskuduru of the Achmanide inscriptions, played in the mythology of the Egyptians* a part similar to that of Paradise among the Hebrews, and the Isle of the Blessed in the Babylonian Epic of Gishdubar.† When we learn from the latter that Gishdubar comes first to the Mountain Māshu (in Yemāma, according to Glaser) and then to the sea-coast, to journey thence (by a three days' voyage over a distance which otherwise would occupy six weeks) to the Waters of Death, until he finally reaches that Isle, the abode of the Babylonian Noah, it is very evident that precisely Socotra again is meant. But for the present it suffices to have shown that South Babylonia is the neighborhood in which in the earliest times the Babylonians (or the Sumerians), and after them the Hebrews, located Paradise.

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BUDDHISM AND LAMAISM IN MONGOLIA.

BY REV. JOHN SHEEPHANKS.

From *The Newbery House Magazine* (London), December, 1891.

It was on my way from China to Lake Baikal, in Siberia, where I much wished to visit the interesting missions of the Græco-Russian Church to the Bourjats, and to gain upon the spot some knowledge of Shamanism, the most ancient of the heathen religions upon earth, that I was led to visit Kuren (or Ourga, as the Russians call it), the sacred city of the Mongols.

It is their sacred city, as being the usual residence of their great Lama, the object of their deepest veneration, the centre of their religious worship. For the Buddhist religion, as it is still found in Hindostan or Ceylon, is in many ways unsuited to the simple children of the Steppes, who require a creed less mystic and less philosophical, more simple, more concrete, and appealing

more directly to the religious element in their nature. And so, among the Mongols, Buddhism, which has ever exhibited such a wonderful power of adapting itself to the varying requirements of peoples, has taken an altogether different shape. Indeed, it is quite misleading to speak of Buddhism as it is found in Southern, Eastern, and Central Asia, as if it were everywhere but one and the same religion. The Fo-ism of China is mixed up with the other philosophic and moral theories and traditional customs of the Celestial Kingdom; and the Lamaistic form of Buddhism which holds in Mongolia, and which has taken into its system and assimilated portions of the old Shamanism, and even, as I have witnessed, some elements of fire-worship, probably resembles in fact the Tao-ism of China, or even the Polytheism of ancient Greece or Rome, almost as much as the pure Buddhism of Ceylon.

The priesthood, as representative of the ascetic element, is everywhere highly exalted wherever the Buddhist religion has spread; and in this fact there has been an opportunity for a development highly congenial to the religious instincts of the pastoral tribes of Central Asia. One of the sacred Triads specially revered among the Mongols is that of Burchan, Lama, and Nom—the “Buddha, Sanga, and Dharma” of more southern Buddhists; i.e., “the Divinity,* the Priesthood, and the Law.” Indeed, there is probably not a more priest-ridden people upon the face of the earth. But though from the first preaching of Buddhism in Thibet and Mongolia the great Lamas at the head of the spiritual hierarchy have ever been regarded with the excessive reverence of superstition, it was not for many centuries, probably not until the close of the fifteenth century, that there sprung up the remarkable theory of a perpetual incarnation in them. Padma-pāni is perpetually incarnate in the successive Dalai-Lamas of Thibet; and Pandida, who, it is said, first preached Buddhism in Thibet, is incarnate in the great Lama of Mongolia, or “Khutuktu.”† Thus, then, there is a concrete object of religious veneration far better suited than the philosophic theories

* The Mongolian word “Burchan” is not to be regarded as the exact equivalent of “Buddha.” The missionaries of Buddhism found the word upon their entrance into Mongolia. It is an old Shaman word, and the Siberian Shamans of the present day call the divinity “Burchan.” It is used by the Christian Bourjats for the true God, and is employed by the Christian missionaries in the same sense.

† The Khutuktu is of the supposed incarnations the third in rank; the two others that rank above him being the Dalai-Lama and the Bantcheyne Bogdo, both of Thibet. Which of these two last mentioned is the superior in dignity seems to be a moot point; at least, in Mongolian precedence is sometimes attributed to one, sometimes to the other.

* Compare the old Egyptian tale, discovered by Golenisheff, of the king of the Incense-land, who resided in an enchanted island; namely, Socotra,—and identification made by Golenisheff himself. It is published in the *Transactions of the Berlin Congress of Orientalists*, and reproduced in Erman's “Egypt” (p. 673 ff.). Compare also Eduard Glaser in *Ausland* for 1890, p. 524.

† Note.—This name is to be pronounced “Gilgamesh,” according to a little fragment published by Theophilus G. Pinches.—THE EDITOR.

of Southern Asia to the simple ignorant peasants of the Steppes. It is true, indeed, that they profess to believe in "gods many, and lords many." Invading Buddhism took into itself, as I have said, a large portion of the former belief in demonology; and having been originally, according to the teaching of Shakyamuni, probably purely atheistic, has become in Mongolia, Thibet, and China, actually polytheistic. You cannot enter a Buddhist temple in Mongolia without seeing images of divinities in the shrines, and banners with hideous delineations of demon-gods hanging down on all sides from the roof. Yet I fancy the belief in these gods has comparatively but a slight hold upon the people. Their enthusiastic loyalty, their most reverent worship, the deepest devotion of their hearts are reserved for the Lama, the man like themselves, whom, with no reason indeed that can be estimated, they fondly believe, or suppose, to be an incarnate god.

The Khutuktu is from the early days of his childhood immured in the enclosure of his palace at Kuren. This he never quits, except when he pays a visit to his house in the country, and on the solemn occasions when he comes forth in state to bless and be adored by the people. If he pass safely through childhood and attain to the state of manhood, he is then, at the age of twenty-two or twenty-three, taken away to Thibet to be consecrated to the rank of "Geloon" by the Dalai-Lama,* and usually dies on his journey home, or if not, then soon after his return to Mongolia. The explanation of this at first sight startling fact could beyond doubt be furnished by the agents of "Bogdo Khan,"† who has an hereditary fear of the warlike Mongols, and jealousy of their chief, and well understands the secret art, fighting with "silver spears," of striking down an enemy at a distance. No need to say that the unhappy man himself is kept in absolute ignorance of the fate which has overtaken his predecessors and awaits himself. When he is dead, it is believed that the divinity which dwelt in him has passed into some other child of man recently born, and a grand deputation of Lamas is at once despatched to Thibet to institute a search for the child; for it is the will of Bogdo Khan that the Khutuktu should be of Thibetan parentage. M. Hue tells us in his "Travels in Tartary"—a book which I may remark by the way is not always to be

relied on for perfect accuracy—how he himself witnessed this cavalcade on its way to Thibet. The head Lamas are of course alone aware of the secret signs by which the infant who has inherited the divinity may be recognized, and accordingly they find them in the infant son of suitable and compliant parents. The little one is duly adored, and taken charge of, and carried off to his luxurious captivity at Kuren. Sometimes, when passing by the enclosure and seeing the gaudily coloured and gilt roofs of his pavilions rising above the lofty wooden walls, one thought sadly of the young man within, and longed to be able to whisper a few words in his ear and warn him of the fate in store for him.

It has always been the policy of the astute Government of China, while abstaining from interference with the spiritual authority of the great Lama, to curtail and keep in check his temporal power. The country of the Khalkas, which lies to the north of the great desert "Gobi"—a tract of 300,000 square miles, the more desolate part of which is called "Shamo," the "Sea of Sand"—is divided into four khanates; and there is, besides, the "Shabin" Government, consisting of clans given to the Khutuktu at various times by different princes. The men of the Shabin, assigned to the temples, numbered a few years ago upwards of 70,000. The administration was formerly in the hands of the Khutuktu himself, but has recently been taken from him by the Chinese Government and entrusted to a Lama, a nominee of its own, who with his two assistants resides at Kuren. But all the ecclesiastical affairs of Shabin are administered in the name of the Khutuktu.

The four khanates of Khalka, containing, it is said, a population of 5,000,000, form two Governments, each presided over by an Umban, or Governor, appointed from China, to which Khalka became subject towards the close of the seventeenth century. The Umban of Kuren, the easternmost of these two Governments, was at the time of my visit not a Chinaman, but a Mongol, a Buddhist of the most rigid type. At the time of his appointment he was greatly scandalised at the atmosphere of the world which surrounds the sacred city. There is an old Buddhist law that no merely secular persons, such as traders or shopkeepers, should dwell within two miles of the residence of the Khutuktu; whereas, the law having fallen into desuetude, a town of considerable size has sprung up around the lamaserie. In fact, while the number of Lamas in Kuren

* There are three orders peculiar to the Mongolian "Lama": (i.) Geloon, (ii.) Getzon, and (iii.) Honvarak.

† "Bogdo" means "Divine." Bogdo Khan is the Emperor of China. "Tzagan Khan"—"agaa," white, or happy—is the Czar of Russia.

is between 3,000 and 4,000, the total number of inhabitants is said to be 10,000. The newly appointed governor determined to sweep all these people away from the place; a hazardous and most impolitic act. But the Khutuktu, showing himself to be in this a sensible man, has for the present put a stop to the execution of the threat. He told the governor that he was too late; matters had gone too far; and the attempt to drive away some 7,000 people from their shops and houses would be folly. Besides, the presence of the people had as yet in no way injured him or the interest of the religion. And so the matter rests.

At the present time the chief part of the secular population resides in an eastern suburb, separated from the sacred city by a broad street or market-place. No woman is allowed to lodge in the sacred city.

The town is singularly built, being formed of a large number of enclosures, varying in size, and all surrounded with high wooden palisades. These wooden walls vary from eight to ten or twelve feet in height; so that, the houses being very low, those of the Chinamen being only of one story—nothing of them can be seen from outside, except, perhaps, just the ridges of the Chinese houses. As these enclosures adjoin one another, they form streets, or, rather, unpaved roads, often very muddy, and are entered through a gate, roughly and squarely made. When you enter one of these enclosures you will find one or two Mongol huts, or a low Chinese house, built in what we call the pavilion style, or perhaps an idol temple. The Mongolian huts, or "gurs," are beehive-looking structures, in form very much like the pictures that one often sees of the tents of the Esquimaux. In shape they are circular, with a wall about five feet in height, and conical roof. The framework is made of sticks of wood, placed lattice-wise, imported from China or Siberia—for there are no trees upon the Steppes—and is covered with felt kept down by cords. There is no chimney, but a circular hole at the apex of the roof, to allow the smoke from the argol (dung) fire to escape. The temples are made of wood, and in their ground-plan bear a resemblance, perhaps merely superficial, to the construction of the Greek churches. In the porch there are one or two large prayer cylinders, perhaps five or six feet in height. In the drums of these there are fixed spokes of wood, to which every one gives a push as he goes in or out; so that they are usually found slowly revolving. The main body of the building, the hall of assembly, or

"nave" as we should term it, is rectangular, usually square in shape, festooned with cloths, and banners hanging from the roof, upon which are depicted the effigies of the Buddhas and Demons. Drums also are suspended from the roof, which are beaten from time to time. At the opposite side of the hall of assembly from the porch is the shrine; or very commonly this is in a separate apartment, connected with the hall by a short passage. Here, perhaps in a case, are the images of the gods, and upon an altar-table little brass cups filled with offerings—wheat, millet, rice, and butter. In the large hall, or "nave," the visitor will probably at any time find three or four Lamas of the poorer sort, with their shaven heads and loose, dirty garments, sitting cross legged on the floor, having their books of prayers, shaped like long, old fashioned music-books,* before them on a low desk, growling, or rather bellowing, out the sacred formulas in their hoarsest bass, as though they would be "heard for their much speaking."

These Lamas, who form such a large part, it is said more than a moiety, of the male population, are the least prepossessing people that one meets with in Mongolia. They are lazy, inquisitive of course like all the other Mongols, very dirty, and frequently supercilious and domineering. In appearance they differ only from the laity in having the head entirely shaved; whereas the layman, though having his head partially shaved, wears a short pigtail from the crown. Their recitation of the prayers (so-called), which are written in Tibetan, the sacred language, of which many of them do not understand a word, is utterly formal, and, if there be no witnesses present, often unreal and irreverent to the last degree. They will frequently break off their recitations to chatter and laugh, and sometimes shout out mere gibberish, "vain repetitions" indeed.

Being on one occasion alone in one of these temples along with a single Lama, who was as usual pretending to growl out his prayers, I listened attentively, and found that he was in fact saying nothing but "Hum, hum, hum, ha, ha, ha;" and upon my approaching him, and asking him the names of the various divinities depicted on the banners, he talked and laughed aloud, and felt my garments, and wanted to know their price, and all about them.

Externally the great hall of the temple is roofed over with a large dome, made of a

* The books of magic mentioned in Acts xix. 19 were probably books of sacred formulae such as these.

framework of wood covered with canvas; so that at a little distance these temples appear not unlike large tents, such as are sometimes used in country places in England for the performances of a circus.

In this strange city the most singular feature to the eye of the stranger is perhaps that presented by the mechanical contrivances for prayer. Over the gate of each of the enclosures, between the cross-pieces, there is fixed a good-sized prayer wheel, to the drum or cylinder of which two or three small sails are attached, similar to those that are fastened to the children's toy wind-mills in England. These are caught by every passing breeze; so that, especially when a strong wind prevails, the rapidly revolving cylinders cause a perpetual whirl throughout the place. There are also numerous poles erected here and there, with streamers, upon which the sacred formulas are written; and as the wheels revolve, and the streamers flutter in the breeze, continual prayers and aspirations are supposed to be ascending to the Buddha world. I was very wishful to obtain one of these prayer-cylinders, but for a considerable time was baffled in my object, as it is strictly forbidden to the Lamas to sell them. However, on one occasion, finding near one of the temples a receptacle for the worn-out paraphernalia, and grubbing about to see what I could discover, I fished up, along with old banners and pictures of the Buddhas and Demons, some of which I still possess, an old broken prayer-wheel. An inquisitive young Lama coming up at the moment, I told him, in answer to his questionings, that I wanted a prayer-wheel, and would give him a good sum for one. Looking round cautiously to see that no one was within earshot, he promised that he would try to get one, and bring it to me at the Russian station where I was staying, at a little distance from the town. Accordingly, the next night, long after dark, having muffled himself up to avoid recognition, he brought in one of the common hand prayer-wheels, which is before me as I write. It is thirteen inches in length, and consists of three parts: a wooden handle or stick, terminating in a long iron spike; the cylinder, made of copper, four inches in diameter, perforated with a hole through which the spike is passed, and a brass knob which secures it there. From the external face of the cylinder there hangs a heavy knob of copper by a string, which, when a rotatory movement is given by means of the handle, causes it to revolve more readily. Within the cylinder there is, I know, though I have never opened mine,

a long, narrow coil of paper, upon which prayers are inscribed in Thibetan characters, probably the famous formula said to have been given by Abida to Ariabolo, that there-with he might assuage the vices and passions of men: "Om Mani-padme Um"—"Glory to Padma-páni." This, perhaps, will be inscribed very many times upon the scroll. There is a correct way of holding the prayer-wheel. The thumb should not be extended up the stick, but tucked in under the fingers, and it is usually revolved from left to right. The vulgar idea is, I suppose, that the use of the prayer-wheel is merely that of indolently saving the trouble of saying the prayers, but this is a mistake. The magical formula is usually repeated aloud while the wheel is being revolved, and sometimes, by means of a rosary held in the left hand, the revolutions are duly recorded. On one occasion, when crossing Shamo, a poor Mongol woman asked permission to accompany my caravan through a part of the night. For four hours I walked behind her, beside the ungainly camels, over the soft, silent sand, with the starlit sky above, and the desert stretching away on either side into the obscurity, and all the while she spun her prayer-wheel, and chanted to a monotonous tune, in her soft woman's voice, the "Om Mani-padme Um." Never for a moment the wheel was still. Occasionally she would speak to my two Mongols, or make replies to them; but, excepting during these breaks, she never once ceased her chant—"Om Mani-padme Um." The esoteric idea is that, as at each revolution of the cylinder this formula is shown to each point of the compass, to the four corners of the earth there is exhibited the glory of Padma-páni, the heavenly lotus-bearer.

I was hugely delighted during my stay at Kuren to hear that the great Lama, being about to remove to his country-house, would come forth to be adored by and to bless his devoted people. When the appointed day arrived, having driven into Kuren, accompanied by a young Russian, I made my way to the palace of the Khutuktü. On our arrival before the gate, at about half-past ten A.M., we found that the ceremony was not expected to take place till nearly noon. We found plenty of amusement, however, during the interval, in looking upon the scene around us. There were brown, dirty, ruddy Mongols from the country, come on pilgrimage; and country-women, rich and poor, the former decked out in all their bizarre finery. In the midst of the throng there was a spare, ascetic-

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looking Manchurian Lama, who attracted much attention, sitting cross-legged on the ground, clothed in red, with a yellow hat much like that of a mediæval jester, revolving his cylinder with his rosary in his left hand, chanting out his monotonous prayers. Costumes of many patterns and various colours and fabrics; silks of blue and red; rough, simple shepherds in sheep-skin frocks, oddly-shaped hats, and heavy felt boots; Lamas in red flowing garments and wonderful yellow hats of different shapes—round, helmeted, and crested: such were some of the objects that struck the eye.

Taking out my note-book, I made a few sketches of some of the strangest figures; but this I had to do very cautiously, as some of them, especially the women, evidently resented what they regarded as a liberty. At length there was a stir among the people, which showed that the eagerly-expected ceremony was about to take place; and they all moved off to an open space in front of an enclosure near the palace. After a little while the gates of this enclosure were thrown open, and a small decorated pavilion was discovered inside, with a highly ornate chair, in which the great one was to sit. The pilgrims were all arranged in three or four broad rows across the open space, and sat down thickly upon the ground. We walked off to the gate of the palace enclosure, from which, we were told, the Khutuktu would soon issue. Presently a small procession of Lamas arrived, and took up their position at the same spot.* There were two men having long strips of fur, which they wore somewhat as the Eastern deacons wear their stoles, over the right shoulder, and hanging down towards the ground. There were two men in huge yellow woollen helmets, bearing trumpets shaped like flageolets; and a number of Lamas, advanced in life and of high position, in large gilt processional hats. One Lama bore a lofty round canopy of yellow silk, like a large umbrella with long hangings. Other Lamas of high degree bore a sedan-chair covered with yellow stuff. Shortly after this procession had taken its place the trumpets were sounded, and all eyes were turned towards the gate, which, up to this time, had been shut. It opened, and there came out a group of high Lamas, all in bright red flowing silk robes, and among them the god himself, who immediately took his seat upon the sedan-chair and was lifted up by the Lamas appointed

for the purpose. He was a stout man, with a large, round, shaven, good-humoured face, not wanting in intelligence, but with a smirking and consequential expression. I should have guessed him to be about thirty years of age, but in fact he was only twenty-one; the time, therefore, of his fateful journey to Thibet was not far off. The trumpets continued blowing, the procession started, and soon entered the enclosure that I have mentioned. To the gate of this we hurried in time to see the great Lama take his seat upon the chair of state. All caps were taken off, the Khutuktu alone remaining covered, and a chosen few were ranged before him. These were they who obtained the privilege by valuable gifts. The presents of rich Mongols are, I was told, often very costly. I saw one man, only meanly dressed, carrying in a silver plate, shaped like a crown and elaborately carved, as his offering. These favoured ones were placed before the great one, and all, both men and women, took off their hats, which were held by the attendant Lamas, and received the much-valued benediction, the while prayers were chanted out in the deep bass which the Lamas cultivate, and handfuls of corn were thrown up into the air. We were standing at the gate during this ceremony, not being allowed to enter. While there, the Umban and other mandarins, clad in rich garments of blue silk, their hats adorned with buttons that denoted their rank, and peacocks feathers—a decoration conferred by Bogdo Khan—passed in and took up their positions not far from the throne. But they were evidently quite subordinate personages. When the favoured ones had received their special blessing, the trumpets were again sounded, we were requested to move away from the gate, and the great one came forth. First stalked the two Lamas with their so-called stoles of fur; next the two trumpeters in their helmets; then one or two Lamas; then one bearing a censer; then the sedan-chair with the god lifted on high on the shoulders of the Lamas. A few more Lamas and the Mandarins closed the procession which moved, not quickly, but not very slowly, down the ranks of people kneeling or prostrating themselves upon the ground. Each person, man and woman, had a small silk handkerchief, which he or she had brought as an offering, for they were all quite poor people. These were collected by the attendant Lamas. The great one held a long strand or rein of silk in each hand, which he twisted round as he was borne along.

* There are no less than 500 Lamas in the personal retinue of the Khutuktu.

Each strand was tied to the handle of a wand borne by a Lama walking on either side. To the other end of this wand there was attached a small bunch of silk ribands, and with this, as the procession moved onwards, the Lamas touched rapidly the bare heads of the people, they at the time, poor things, holding up their hands with the palms pressed together as if in prayer, and with a rapt, awe-struck expression upon their simple faces. Thus, through the medium of the wand and the silk strand, each person was for a brief moment brought *en rapport* with the incarnate god. He in the meantime looked round with much indifference and complacency. As he passed near me and my companion, he looked at us, as we stood, with some displeasure, and prudence whispered that it might be safer to kneel, or at least incline one's head; but the prudence of my reflections was counteracted by the British obstinacy of my knees; I felt that it could not be done; and doubtless recognising that we were not of his people, the Lama's expression quickly changed to a stare of eager curiosity, and I, for my part, returned his gaze with some curiosity and yet more sadness. Thus the ranks were all passed through, the trumpets blowing lustily all the while, and the great one, returning by the way he came, the walls of the enclosure once more hid him from our view.

The people then slowly dispersed; many of them, however, stopping awhile to worship. Standing before the gates of the palace, and placing the palms of their hands together, they touched their foreheads and breasts, and then, prostrating themselves at full length upon their faces, they touched the earth with their foreheads. This they would do, perhaps a few, perhaps many times; and then, brushing the dust from their heads, went away to their place of lodging.

It was all very strange and piteous. The words arose to one's mind which long, long ago spake of the unhappiness of those "who worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, Who is blessed for evermore. Amen."

THE KENDRICK JUBILEE.

From *The Central Christian Advocate* (Meth. Epis.), St. Louis, Dec. 9, 1891.

THE rare privilege of celebrating the jubilee of a bishop of the Roman Catholic

Church was offered to the friends of Archbishop Kendrick, of St. Louis, on the thirtieth of last month, and they determined to make the most of it. For some months preparations were making to produce the most impressive exhibition of ecclesiastical pomp ever seen in this country. The dignitaries of the Church, of which the Archbishop has been so long an honored member, responded to the invitation from every portion of the United States, and beyond. Cardinal Gibbons, a prince of the Church, archbishops and bishops by the score, and priests by the fifties graced the occasion. There was, we may say without fear of contradiction, singular appropriateness in this generous manifestation of honor and affection for the venerable Archbishop. He was worthy of it all. For fifty years his service as the highest official of his Church in the Mississippi Valley has drawn upon him the eyes of many people, and the testimony is universal to his pure life, his charitable impulses, his loving genial fellowship, his scholarly attainments, his wise administration of the trust confided to him. Even those who have least sympathy for the Church that he represented freely express their admiration of the man. And he had other qualities which produced respect. His manly stand against the foolish willfulness of Pope Pius IX. in forcing upon the Roman Catholic Church the dogma of the infallibility of the Pope, although he at last accepted the finding of the Council, increased respect for his sterling qualities. This independence and his humility during the years when on account of his courage he was suspended from the duties of his office will add lustre to his name in the days to come.

But Archbishop Kendrick is not the product of Romanism, but of that living principle of Christianity which works out its effect in all Christian Churches. It is this which has made him what he is, and gained him the regard of Christians of other denominations. And while the ceremonies lacked nothing that could be devised to impress the people with the commanding position and influence of the Church of Rome, they were not distinctively Christian. It was impossible to conceal the incongruity of the display with our American life and convictions. It was the pageant of a departed period, out of harmony with the present time and the place where it was acted, a feeble imitation of monarchical institutions and feeling. The ecclesiastical procession would have lost its imposing proportions had the foreign-born prelates and priests been excluded.

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LITERARY DEPARTMENT.

BOOK REVIEWS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By S. R. DRIVER, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. (The International Theological Library.) New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1891. 8vo, pp. xxxii, 522, \$2.50.

This is the first volume of the International Theological Library, a series to be edited by Professor Briggs in this country and Professor Salmon in Great Britain. The theological point of view of the editors is well known, and will probably be reflected in the series. Of Professor Driver's competency, his judgment, and his fairness it would be superfluous to speak. The volume before us is by a thorough scholar.

The established science of Old Testament introduction is generally divided into two parts—general introduction and introduction to the several books. It is the latter which is treated here, as indicated by the title, "Introduction to the *Literature of the Old Testament*." The subject of the canon is treated only in a brief introductory chapter, and the Old Testament text, versions and editions are ignored altogether. The unity of the book manifestly gains by this limitation. It becomes a treatise on the character and origin of the books of the Old Testament. The first chapter, on the origin of these books according to the Jews, shows us that we have no trustworthy external evidence on this point. The consequence is that we are shut up to the internal evidence—i.e., to the method of literary criticism. A further consequence is that not all questions can be settled with equal definiteness. Like all other historical researches, these can yield not mathematical certainty, but a probability of greater or less degree. "It has been no part of my object" says the preface "to represent conclusions as more certain than is authorized by the facts upon which they depend." The general self-restraint of the critics on this point has sometimes been misunderstood, and the complaint has been made that the higher criticism is a congeries of uncertainties; but this is no more true of the historical study of the Old Testament than of historical study in general.

Professor Driver takes up the books of the Old Testament in the order of the Hebrew Canon. He gives a summary of the contents of each. He then notices the literary structure and the marks of style. In conclusion he gives the date, so far as it can be established, or, if uncertain, the limits within which the book must be placed. His conclusions generally agree with those of other scholars who acknowledge the right of literary criticism. The test case is the age of the Priest Code. Dr. Driver says:

"These arguments [a comparison with J E, D, and Ezekiel] combine to make it probable that the completed Priests' Code is the work of the age subsequent to Ezekiel. When, however, this is said, it is very far from being implied that all the institutions of P are the creation of this age. . . . The Priests' Code embodies some elements with which the earlier literature is in harmony, and which indeed it presupposes; it embodies other elements with which the same literature is in conflict, and the existence of which it even seems to preclude. This double aspect of the Priests' Code is reconciled by the supposition that the chief ceremonial institutions of Israel are *in their origin* of great

antiquity; but that the laws respecting them were gradually developed and elaborated, and *in the shape in which they are formulated in the Priests' Code* that they belong to the exilic or early post-exilic period. In its main stock the legislation of P was thus not (as the critical view of it is sometimes represented by its opponents as teaching) 'manufactured' by the priests during the exile; it is based upon *pre-existing Temple usage*, and exhibits the form which that finally assumed" (p. 135).

For those who like to label everybody with a party name this passage will place Professor Driver among the "moderate Wellhausenians."

As an example of our author's discriminating literary feeling, we may quote his criticism of the Yahvist (J):

"J, if he dwells less than E upon concrete particulars, excels in the power of delineating life and character. His touch is singularly light; with a few strokes he paints a scene which before he has finished is impressed indelibly upon his readers' memory. In ease and grace his narratives are unsurpassed; everything is told with precisely the amount of detail that is required; the narrative never lingers and the reader's interest is sustained to the end. His dialogues especially (which are frequent) are remarkable for the delicacy and truthfulness with which character and emotions find expression in them; who can ever forget the pathos and supreme beauty of Judah's intercession (Gen. xlv. 18ff.)? . . . The character of Moses is portrayed by him with singular attractiveness and force. In J, further, the prophetic element is conspicuously prominent. Indeed, his characteristic features may be said to be the fine vein of ethical and theological reflection which pervades his work throughout, and the manner in which his narrative, even more than that of E, becomes the vehicle of religious teaching" (pp. 112, 113).

Compare the similar description of Jeremiah, too long to quote here (p. 256).

The author's polemic is entirely free from heat of temper and from expressions of prejudice. Frequently he points out in a single sentence the weakness of the opposite view, as where he says: "Though it may appear paradoxical to say so, Deuteronomy *does not claim to be written by Moses*; whenever the author speaks himself he purports to give a description in the third person of what he did or said" (p. 83). So of a well-known book: "There are many just observations on the theological truths which find expression in the Mosaic law; but it is an *ignoratio elenchi* to suppose them to be a refutation of the opinion that Hebrew legislation reached its final form by successive stages, except upon the assumption that all progress must proceed from purely natural causes—an assumption both unfounded in itself and opposed to the general sense of theologians, who speak, for instance, habitually of a progressive revelation" (p. 149). That the author is in sympathy with the theological content of the Old Testament is frequently shown, and he nowhere shows a leaning toward the naturalistic rationalism so often charged upon biblical critics. So where he says Professor Bissell "has not shown that the critical view . . . cannot be stated in a form free from exaggeration, and entirely compatible with the reality of the supernatural enlightenment vouchsafed to the ancient people of God" (p. 150). In regard to the second part of Isaiah, while maintaining its exilic date, he expressly refuses to reduce it to a *vaticinium ex*

eventu, asserting that its whole tone "shows that it is written prior to the events which it declares to be approaching."

Some interest has been shown lately in the Bampton lectures of Professor Cheyne, in which he expresses doubt as to the Davidic authorship of most of the Psalms. It will be interesting to note that Professor Driver's position is similar. After giving Ewald's list of supposed Davidic Psalms (twelve in number besides some fragments), he says these Psalms "are marked by a freshness and poetic force and feeling and a certain brightness of language and expression which distinguish them from most of the others attributed to David; and if Davidic Psalms are preserved in the Psalter, we may safely say that they are to be found among those which Ewald has selected." He then points out the indications in these very Psalms against the theory, ending up with a *non liquet*. It is pretty clear to the present reviewer that this is as near as we can come to a definite utterance on this subject. What is hard to see is the reason for the resentment with which this conclusion is received. Is not the twenty-third Psalm just as sweet and helpful, if written by some other humble shepherd, as if written by the one who afterward became King of Israel?

Several features of this work will make it especially helpful to students. Among these I reckon the little chronological tables at the beginning of several chapters, as the chapter on Isaiah; further, the good bibliography, including, so far as I have noticed, all the works of present importance. Especially thorough are the lists of Hebrew words or phrases characteristic of the different writers; no less than forty are enumerated for Deuteronomy and fifty for the Priest Code. These tables deserve serious study by any one who would weigh the evidence for the critical theory of the Pentateuch. Similar attention should be given to the synopsis of laws in Deuteronomy with their parallels in the other documents.

I have said enough to show that the book is one worthy of its subject, thorough in its treatment, reverent in its tone, sympathetic in its estimate, frank in its recognition of difficulties, conservative (in the best sense of the word) in its statements of results. Such a book can be refuted only upon its own ground. Its strong array of facts must be reckoned with. For this reason all interested in the foundations of Christian theology should give it careful and unprejudiced study.

HENRY PRESERVED SMITH.

LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE GREAT DISCOURSE OF JESUS THE CHRIST, THE SON OF GOD. A Topical Arrangement and Analysis of all His Words Recorded in the New Testament separated from the Context. New York: Randolph [1891]. Pp. xxxi., 361, \$1.50.

The title of this volume describes the contents almost as fully as can be wished. The body of the work is preceded by an "Apologia," signed C. W. L., which gives an account of the mental and spiritual condition of the writer and of the means by which he was brought into the fulness of the light of Gospel truth. That condition was one of antagonism to the Church and its offices, an ill-defined but powerful aversion to its methods and its claims. In this the writer is undoubtedly a type of many others, who have similar feelings and similar antipathies which are perhaps incapa-

ble of exact expression or definition, but which are possessed of a terrible power of alienating those who have been born and bred under the shadow of the sanctuary, determining them away from the Church of their birth and equally from all others. Such persons are unwilling perhaps to see that this alienation and separation is the result of ignorance of the true essence of that which they suppose that they hate. Like the writer, they have been turned away by certain vague aversions to the externals of the historical representations of the Christ, and because they have not learned what is the true inwardness, the vast scope, the exhaustless fulness of the truth, both spiritual and moral, which is contained in those words of spirit and life of Him who spake as never man spake.

This book records the spiritual birth of one who found spirit and life in the teachings of the Master, after having separated them from the externals of the story in which they were wrapped up. The discovery of the depth of meaning in the words "... the things of the Spirit of God ..." are spiritually discerned," gave a new turn to the author's mind and changed utterly his mental view-point. Then the things which before had stood in his way and barred his approach suddenly became of minor importance, and the impossibility of gauging spiritual truth by the old criteria made former objections sink into insignificance and nothingness. A new start must be made and new standards of criticism set up. But here, as is probably true in a far greater number of cases than is realized by the preacher or by the persons themselves, the great difficulty was that there was a vast amount of ignorance of what those spiritual teachings really are. In order to gain the knowledge that had become essential, the author made for himself the collections of sayings which are here presented to us in printed form. It was a novel and yet simple thought to separate the words from their context. At first thought one might say that thereby violence would be done to the truth. But we do not believe that such an impression will be left on any mind after a perusal of the words as here presented. Familiar as we are with the narratives in which the words occur, we seem to miss the setting, but as we read we find that the discourses fit into one another in a marvellous way, and we discover a fulness of truth which, possibly, we had never before realized.

The author's purpose in printing the volume was that that might be the means of helping others which he had found so helpful and beneficial in his own case. It is evident from the arrangement and choice of the rubrics under which the various sayings have been analyzed that the writer is not a theologian, but one whose aim has been to reflect the truth which he had found with as little as possible of the personal equation and with no dogmatic or ecclesiastical bias. On this very account the volume is the better adapted to meet the wants and actual needs of others, though it may be thereby open to the criticism of the scientific theologian. But the essential thing, after all, is the truth itself, and not the mould in which it is cast. The main thing is that we have the words which are able to give instruction and whose entrance giveth light placed before us in forms which have already approved themselves by the test of actual trial.

But there is another aspect in which the book may be regarded. It is calculated to aid those

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who are in accord, more or less complete and hearty, with the Church as well as those who are out of accord with all ecclesiastical arrangements, methods, and claims. But, furthermore, it is calculated to open the eyes of ministers to some of the secret springs of the antipathies and aversions of those who should be their hearers, but who are not. Ministers too often live in little worlds of their own, without a knowledge of the actual thoughts, feelings, and reflections of those who are just outside of their flocks. It will be a happy day for the Church when the ministers shall become so well acquainted with the actual and precise difficulties which keep really conscientious men outside of the Church that they shall be able to take such by the hand and lead them into the truth which maketh free indeed.

CHARLES R. GILLETT.

NEW YORK.

THE SPIRIT OF MAN. An Essay in Christian Philosophy. By ARTHUR CHANDLER, M.A., Fellow and late Tutor of Brasenose College, Oxford. London and New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1891. Pp. xii., 227, \$1.75.

This essay is an attempt to show the deep significance of Christianity for fundamental, speculative, and practical problems. In Chapter I. knowledge and reality are treated. The theories of their relation are briefly but keenly discussed, and the conclusion is reached that they are but opposite sides of truth. Chapter II. treats of the nature of man and the work of Christ. Here abstract spiritualism is condemned, and both body and spirit are looked upon as partners in a single spiritual personality. In the Fall both partners suffered; and body and spirit alike fell into degradation. The work of Christ was to remedy this disaster, and restore both body and spirit so that our true spiritual personality might be regained. A true life is thus restored to the race by and in Christ. This life is described as eternal, in the sense of being absolute or complete. The chaos and disruption of fallen human nature are removed and this life eternal; but this life is obtained only through communion with Christ (*a*) in the eucharist and (*b*) in the life of trust and obedience. Thus spiritual life becomes sacramental; and all work, if unselfishly performed, may acquire a spiritual character and become the vehicle of the eternal life. Freedom, virtue, and institutions are treated in separate chapters, and the significance of Christianity for them is shown. Real freedom, in distinction from formal freedom, is found only in that gracious renewal of the soul, whereby we are "delivered from the bondage of corruption into the glorious liberty of the children of God." In treating of virtue, the claim is made that only in Christianity do we have a motive and an aim strong enough and great enough to give ethics any sufficient foundation. In this respect it is contrasted with Greek ethics and with utilitarianism. Institutions are shown to be necessary instruments for the perfection of individual character, by furnishing the conditions of unselfish living. Of these institutions the Church is the greatest. For those who can read it, this work will be found very suggestive and stimulating. Even where one might doubt the cogency of the argument, he would find real thought and not merely forms of words.

BORDEN P. BOWNE.

BOSTON UNIVERSITY.

BRIEF REVIEWS, BY THE EDITOR.

The Book of Ecclesiastes. With a new translation, by Samuel Cox (8vo, pp. xvi., 335) and *The Book of Proverbs*, by R. P. Horton (pp. viii., 418), are two volumes of the Expositor's Bible series which appeared during the past year. (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, \$1.50.) Unfortunately an earlier notice of these two excellent volumes has seemed impossible, and even now space forbids extended review. Several of the series have been noticed, and almost invariably with words of warm commendation.—The former volume is a rewriting of the author's book, "The Quest of the Chief Good," published in 1867. It contains an excellent translation of the original in a shape to correspond with the forms of Hebrew poetry. It is divided into parts and sections corresponding to the mode of thought, showing progress and a final aim. The "chief good" is thus set forth by the writer in the "large, noble conclusion, that only as men reverence God, and keep His commandments, and trust in His love, do they touch their true ideal, and find a good that will satisfy and sustain them under all changes, even to the last." The volume contains an inspiring study of a portion of Scripture, which, from its supposed pessimism, is only too often ignored and disregarded.—Mr. Horton's volume is made on an entirely different plan. In order to give a greater coherence to the parts, thirty-one topics have been chosen which are suggested by maxims found in Proverbs. These are treated by way of exposition, and with a width of illustration and an aptness of application which make the lessons clear and available for immediate use. We seem to have before us a series of expository discourses which may well serve to teach the learner how the lecture of this sort should be constructed. We have presented to us some samples of what may be done, not an exhaustion of all that can be done. Both these volumes are valuable additions not only to the series to which they belong, but also to the literature which serves to assist the preacher in the study of the Word, in order that he may present it in profitable form to those to whom he is set to minister.

How to Mark Your Bible, by Mrs. Stephen Menzies. Prefatory note by D. L. Moody. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., no date, 16mo, pp. 175, 75 cents.) This book, by precept and example, will tell him who wishes to "mark" his Bible how to do it. The obvious objection that such usage mars the book, is discounted in advance. Certainly the specimen pages of a "marked" Bible, which are here presented, are not beautiful nor attractive; but the most serious objection is that a system like that indicated, leads one to grasp at certain resemblances or identities of words, and to lay stress upon them when torn out of their connection and context. They show truth in a one-sided manner. At the same time it is possible to see that a study of the Bible must be close and careful to enable one to do one's own marking. To construct a table of marginal references is a task of no small magnitude, and not to be performed in a day or a week. Most of this volume is taken up with the indications of markings and references, in which one may follow the writer's lead, but it were better to do the whole *de novo*, in order to get most good from the exercise.

The Fourfold Story: A Study of the Gospels, by George F. Genung. (Boston and Chicago: Con-

gregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 12mo, pp. 118, 75 cents.) This little book does not propose to give a life of Christ after the usual fashion, based upon a harmony of the Gospels, but rather an account of the contributions of each evangelist to that story. In this it follows, in some degree, the principles and methods of biblical theology. The author aims here to act as guide to the reader and to assist in the ascertainment of the truth. The reputation of the author as an inspiring teacher is well borne out by his present work. He says, "We will pass through the Gospel territory together." It has been said that he who learns *how* to study studies better than he who only amasses facts. Professor Genung aims to train his students to think for themselves and to rely upon themselves—true education—and in this book he has worked with a similar aim. Though the volume is not large, nor its contents detailed, it is calculated to render a service in just the line which the writer intended.

Saint Matthew's Witness to Words and Works of the Lord, or Our Saviour's Life as revealed in the Gospel of His earliest Evangelist, by Francis W. Upham, LL.D. (New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe, 1891, 12mo, pp. vii., 415, \$1.20.) This is far from being a "Life of Christ" in the ordinary sense. It is rather an exposition of prominent or significant incidents without any considerable thread of narrative to bind the chapters into an organic whole. The author defines criticism not as "fault finding," but as the process which should have *appreciation* as its goal. He holds that tradition is correct in ascribing a Hebrew gospel to Matthew, and supposes that the present Gospel was put into its Greek form by the original author. He asserts that without the miraculous work related in the narrative, the picture of the Christ would be "colorless." We have found the reading of the book difficult: the style is labored, the sentences are frequently involved, and the sense is often far from clear.

A book of antiquarian and historical interest, yet written in a popular and pleasing style, has recently appeared under the title *The Sabbath in Puritan New England*, by Alice Morse Earle. (New York: Scribners, 1891, 12mo, pp. viii., 335, \$1.25.) It covers not only the Sabbath and its observances, but also the place of worship, the officers, the worshippers, the Psalm-books, and many other of the things which went to make up the completeness of the New England Puritan Lord's Day. The minister, the deacon, the tithingman—all are brought before us in speaking likeness to the original. The entire story is so well told, and the whole is so enlivened by incident and anecdote, that one is loath to lay the volume down. Doubtless its value might have been augmented for a few, if the authorities for some of the incidents and quotations had been given, but the evident intent has been to make a readable and popular book, and in this the author has succeeded admirably. An excellent index is affixed.

Two new volumes of the "Men of the Bible" series (New York: Randolph & Co.) have recently appeared—viz., *Gideon and the Judges: A Study, Historical and Practical*, by Rev. John Marshall Lang, D.D., Minister of the Barony Parish, Glasgow (12mo, pp. xii., 201, \$1), and *Ezra and Nehemiah: their Lives and Times*, by George Rawlinson, F.R.G.S., late Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford (12mo, pp. x., 182, \$1). Each of these writers has produced a

book in which he has clung with a considerable degree of tenacity to the order and detail of the biblical narrative. Criticism, which often has such a tendency to eliminate a considerable portion of the minutiae from the story, has had little of that effect in either of these works. Dr. Lang has had the purpose of presenting the facts not only from the historical point of view, but with a homiletical intent as well. He has avoided the "dry-as-dust" in his narrative, and has aimed to give the impression of men who lived and felt as much like men of to-day as their environment permitted. The book is mainly biographical, incidentally giving us portrayals of the state of the land and people. Perhaps the most fundamental question conditioning the plan of presentation is connected with the critical attitude of the author in reference to the date of the book. Briefly stated, it is that the internal evidence points to the first six years of the reign of David, previous to the time when the Jebusites were overcome and Jerusalem captured by that king. Other indications would place the date after the inauguration of the kingdom. The statement of xviii. 30, on the other hand, makes the time of composition "obscure;" nevertheless, the late date assigned by some writers, is rejected. Professor Rawlinson also rejects the results announced by what he calls "the separating school of German critics." In fact, he is not much bothered by these "results." Those which others have found more or less difficult of adjustment, he brushes aside with calm indifference. He holds that Ezra wrote all of the book called by his name, or at least so far moulded it that the "redactor" did little to it. In Ezra he also finds the author of Chronicles, noting the predominating Levitical influence which colored both. In him he also finds the final editor of all the historical and most of the prophetic books, and the collector of some of the Psalms. What relation Ezra bore to the "Great Synagogue" is not wholly clear. He likewise holds that Zerubbabel was in possession of the whole of the Pentateuch in its present shape, when he established the worship of the returned exiles, in spite of the fact that the "divisions" of the priests and "courses" of the Levites, which he arranged, were foreign to the Pentateuchal code. It is the good old view which he presents, and it is antiquated even down to the use of "Chaldean," "Chaldee" or "Syriac," as the designation of the Aramaic. A queer contradiction may be noted. The number of those who remained behind when Zerubbabel led the way back to Palestine is placed (p. 12), on the authority of Bullock, in Smith's Dictionary, in the ratio of six to one to those who departed, while (p. 114), on the authority of Kuenen, it is said that they were "quite equal." There are some repetitions in the two portions of the work, and the above is one of them. It is very unfortunate that the type used in both of these books is so small as to render the reading of them a trial to the eye.

Israel: A Prince with God. The Story of Jacob re told, by F. B. Meyer, B.A. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 180, \$1.) We have already had occasion to review other works of this writer, and to note the reverent spirit and the religious fervor which characterize them. In the present book we find the same qualities. It contains the essence of discourses delivered before his London congregation, and is intended, having been published at the request of many friends, to be an exhibition of the "constant well-spring of freshness, variety, and

interest in One's attitude of criticism, terms, and in many has been of taking into it a and true foreign to

Hunt & Eaton, a columns, N. the *Men of the Bible* by George Rawlinson, 12mo, pp. vii., 415, \$1.20. grand work for what here represent which the as weak of attention well known tion and their Ch way on in an of reforms of what ers," hunters, Dr. Cro the pioneering increase confidence, rona, can tell, any open proceed Confere hity in been kn doubly one eccle

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interest in the glorious biographies of Scripture." One's attention is not distracted by any question of criticism, but the story is told in plain, simple terms, and the lessons thence derived are couched in manly words. We have not discovered that he has been guilty of that sin of so many preachers, of taking such liberty with his subject, as to read into it a multitude of things which, while good and true in themselves, are nevertheless entirely foreign to the passage of Scripture in question.

Hunt & Eaton have recently republished in book form, a series of articles which appeared in the columns of the *Northern Christian Advocate* (Syracuse, N. Y.), under the title, *The Present State of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, a symposium edited by George R. Crooks, D.D. (1891, 12mo, pp. 96, 25 cents.) While the work of the Church has been a grand work, and while it is worthy of all praise for what it has done, the writers of the articles here reproduced have lit upon some points at which the polity of the denomination is regarded as weak. Their statements are the more worthy of attention, because they come from men who are well known as loyal in their ecclesiastical connection and desirous of advancing the efficiency of their Church. Without passing judgment in any way on the matters discussed, a thing unbecoming in an outsider, it would seem as though radical reforms were possible and desirable in abatement of what such writers call "patronage," "schemers," "intrigue," "political methods," "place-hunters," "political debts," "combines," etc. Dr. Crooks hits hard when he says (p. 87): "Without some additional safeguards, the electioneering intrigues for this place (episcopate) will increase, will more and more corrupt, will destroy confidence in the distribution of the Church's patronage, and what will come after that God only can tell. And I beg to call attention to a fact that any open-eyed minister can read, to wit: That the proceedings of delegates to the last two General Conferences, in the filling of offices, have left our laity in a greater state of exasperation than has been known for years." These are hard words, doubly hard, as coming from such a man, not from one ecclesiastically opposed nor a backbiter.

The International Congregational Council, London, 1891. Authorised Record of Proceedings. With introduction by R. W. Dale, M.A., D.D., LL.D., President of the Council. Second edition. (London: J. Clarke & Co.; New York: Alfred Barnes; Boston: Congregational Publishing Society, 1891, 8vo, pp. xxxiii., 418, \$1.75.) The mere mention of this book, with a statement as to publishers and price, is all that is needed. The circle of those to whom it will be of interest is, of course, well defined, but to such it will be valuable. It is a noble volume into which much has been packed; the pages are double-columned and the type is small, but the paper is excellent and the impression is good. We are informed that the edition is limited, and that the volume must shortly become scarce.

The Church for the Times. A series of sermons by William Frederic Faber. (Westfield, N. Y.: Lakeside Press, 1891, pp. 81, paper, 25 cents.) The topics treated are: The Church's Faith; Worship; The Divine Church; The Church's Mission; Methods; Confidence. The thought, style, temper, and matter of these sermons are strong, virile, noble, and quickening. Would that there were more Fabers. The insight of the man is seen in his criticism of the Confessional Revision in progress in the Presbyterian Church. "It is

wide of the mark in proposing to improve a thoroughly self-consistent system by additions and excisions dictated by a different philosophy." Of the liberty which the Church should grant, he says: "If a man like Dr. Briggs to-day stands for anything, it is for the rightful claims of 'the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints.' Truth is the foundation of the Church, and 'To go about proclaiming that 'if a certain theory prove untrue, then the foundation is knocked out from under the Christian Church,' is of all methods of Gospel defence surely the most insane." "Perhaps there is no better proof of the divineness of the Church than her ability to suffer these things and yet live." The frightful spectre of "Biblical Criticism" is laid in very few words when it is said: "... Criticism—which is merely 'Study' in a different spelling..." We only regret that space forbids any longer quotations from a book informed with a spirit of true catholicity, candor, earnestness, and Christian faith.

A volume containing eighteen sermons by the Rev. S. D. McConnell, D.D., rector of St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia, and author of a "History of the American Episcopal Church," which was recently reviewed in this magazine, has appeared under the title, *Sons of God*. (New York: Whitaker, 1891, 12mo, pp. vi., 259, \$1.50.) The style of the sermons is that of a man in earnest, with short, nervous, clear, and lucid sentences. One is never at a loss to know what the preacher means. The truth to be inculcated is clearly presented, and is not trite or hackneyed. The reader need never become drowsy in his reading, and the preacher could never have needed the assistance of the ancient "tithingman" to keep his audience awake. These discourses might well serve as a model for the young minister, and their perusal by laity or clergy will bring forth good and only good.

Another volume, also containing eighteen discourses, is before us, bearing the title, *Three Gates on a Side, and other Sermons*. The author, the Rev. Dr. Charles H. Purkhurst, pastor of the Madison Square [Presbyterian] Church, New York, needs no introduction. The book contains some Sunday morning sermons, and some which have been preached before other than his own audience. The last one, "We Know in Part," was delivered before a crowded house at the last meeting of the Presbyterian General Assembly, at Detroit. From the midst of others of equal power, it is difficult to select any as specially excellent, for each shows the preacher in his fulness of spirit, wealth of diction, and brilliancy of thought. The present form gives hints of the loss which is inevitable in the transition from the spoken word to the printed page. The intonation and emphasis, impossible to type, italics and punctuation, nevertheless peers through these barriers, and we are conscious of a man. (Chicago and New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. 271.)

Baptismal Remission; or, The Design of Christian Baptism, by Rev. G. W. Hughey, D.D. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe; New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1891, 12mo, pp. iv., 134, 60 cents.) The title of this book does it injustice, for the author does not hold at all to the notion that "baptismal remission" is the "design" of baptism. This is the view which he hotly combats, standing in entire antagonism to the views of the Romish Church, of Campbellites, and Mormons. The little volume is a brief and energetic denial and disproof of the positions held by adherents to these systems. Dr.

Hughey writes in a plain, unadorned style, having something to say and making no ado about the saying. The book will be of value to those who desire a presentation of the argument against the sacramentarian view, in brief, condensed, and succinct form. It would be asking too much to expect all to agree with the author's exegesis in all points, or to follow him when he incidentally makes Paul the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (p. 39); but in spite of some minor defects the book is one calculated to fill a place in theological literature, and to fill it well so far as it goes.

Departed Gods. *The Gods of our Fathers* is the title of a book by the Rev. J. N. Frazarburgh, Ph.D., D.D., President of the North Dakota University, which treats popularly of the mythology of the Greeks, Etruscans, Romans, Druids, and "Norse." It is the third in a series bearing upon the mythology of the ancients and the religions which yet prevail. "Fire from Strange Altars" deals with the religions of the peoples who surrounded Israel, while "Living Religions" had to do with the systems now met in mission fields. The present volume is not entirely covered by its title, unless we consider 'our fathers' to include the Indo-Germanic branch of the human family; but in that case the title is broader than the book. As a popular treatise the book is successful, but for advanced students of mythology it will be of little or no use. (Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe; New York: Hunt & Eaton, 1891, 12mo, pp. 464, \$1.20.)

Those who remember the volume called "The World's Laconics," published many years ago, will need no introduction to a similar work by the same hand, just from the press of the Cassell Publishing Company of New York. It is called *A Dictionary of Thoughts; being a Cyclopædia of Laconic Quotations from the best Authors, both Ancient and Modern*, by Tryon Edwards, D.D. Alphabetically arranged by subjects (1891, 8vo, pp. xii., 644, cloth, \$5). The volume is well printed in small, though very clear type, is very complete and satisfactory, being the fruit of many years of labor, and embodying a most judicious selection. The names of authors who are quoted are enumerated to the number of no less than 1615, and the quotations must amount to about 20,000, under a thousand subjects. The quotations are all in prose, usually as brief as to be almost epigrammatic. The only criticism upon the whole performance regards the lack of definite reference to the source of the quotation.

The Redemption of Edward Strahan. *A Social Story*, by W. J. Dawson. (New York and Chicago: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1891, 12mo, pp. iv., 262, \$1.25.) As a novel this book is a failure; it has little of the elements which make a romance of the ordinary sort; but a romance the author did not intend to write. As a portrayal of the experiences through which the hero passed, and of the things which caused him to attain to the full stature of a man, the book is very successful inside of its limits. The "redemption" of the title is the recognition of the fact that the life of Jesus is a power which time cannot weaken, an influence which circumstance cannot affect, a reality which can be actualized day by day, in the ordinary life of the ordinary man. The problem of social amelioration, which is the burden of the book, is not solved. Again we stand at the inauguration of the "People's Palace;" its future work and its success are left to the imagination, while still the problem presses upon us, What can be done to re-

move the things which give Socialism its power? Where is the balm to cure the ills of humanity? The author's answer is in a just conception of Christianity as a life, but how shall blinded men be made to see it?

The author writes well generally, and some of the pages have a fire which is begotten of earnestness; but there are occasional slips which betray an American mode of expression, though the tale is English. "La-di-da sort of women" (p. 100) has a peculiarly American twang. "... that will be just a family," savors of a Western idiom, "Suited me down to the ground all the same" (p. 236) seems to have a familiar sound. There are some slips of grammar as well. "One" as an antecedent followed by "he" and "him" is common, but scarcely correct. "... But they did not know who," may be an error of proof-reading, of which there are several in the book; but the author will have accomplished his purpose if he shall succeed in calling attention to the problem of life, which he has attempted to illustrate in some of its phases.

The Fleming H. Revell Co., of Chicago and New York, have issued four little booklets which are all neat and pretty. *The Startled Society*, by Mrs. L. H. Crane, describes a dream portraying the various attitudes of mind of a "society" during whose session the Lord Jesus was announced. The moral is drawn from Matt. xxv. 40. (25 cents).—Those who have heard the words of beauty and earnestness which fall from the lips of Mrs. Ballington Booth in her public addresses, will not question the statement that she is true to herself in the little sermon before us, *Wanted—"Antiseptic Christians."* It pulsates with the same feelings which she impresses upon her auditors. (25 cents).—*The Dew of thy Youth* is an address to the young people of the Society of Christian Endeavor, by Rev. J. R. Miller, D.D., of Philadelphia. It is issued in the hope of a wider influence for good. (20 cents).—*Temptation. A Talk to Young Men*, is by James Stalker, D.D., the Yale lecturer on Preaching for 1891. It is an admirable and plain statement of the attitudes of young men to that which has the power of determining destiny for weal or woe. (20 cents.)

QUARTERLY AND MAGAZINE REVIEWS.

New Englander and Yale Review, New Haven, Dec., 1891.

The article, "James Russell Lowell," by D. H. Chamberlain, New York City, is a blending of biography and commentary, of psychology and criticism, and belongs to that style of modern essays which, when proceeding from a spirited pen, may be as instructive as entertaining. In "Higher Education and Practical Life," Mr. Winthrop Dudley Sheldon, North Cambridge, Mass., points out that the so-called self-made man in reality always is made by an opportunity rather than by himself, that practical smartness always is a natural gift rather than the result of education, etc., and then goes on to show that higher education adds something to what technical education can give, which is of the highest value also in practical life. "What May We Preach?" by John S. Sewall, Bangor Theological Seminary, is an effective antidote to that peculiar dread, not so very uncommon among young pastors, that the

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The Theological Monthly, London, Dec., 1891.

The opening article, "The Restraining Influence," is an elaborate commentary on 2 Thess. ii. 6-8 by Paton J. Gloag, D.D. Then follows the third part of "The Bible and Science," by James McCann, D.D., giving an outline of what may properly be called the biography of a world from its birth to its death, and winding up with its resurrection and the permanence of humanity. "Is there a Deuteronomist in Joshua?" by Stilon Henning, derives from the Book of Joshua a strong argument against the destructive school of criticism fighting under the banner of Wellhausen, while the third part of "Exegetical Hints on the Old Testament," by A. R. Fausset, D.D., goes on in a purely exegetical strain. The article "Gehenna and Hell," by Canon Mathews, is not so much a contribution to the solution of the general eschatological questions, as an attempt to penetrate through the mass of more or less accidental associations which during periods of theological controversies have accumulated around almost every word of the Bible, and establish the original meaning of the word in its primitive simplicity and naturalness, such as it was known to and used by the writer. Of a somewhat similar character, though with a more strongly pronounced polemical tendency, is "Hilkiah's Book of the Law," by Thomas Whitelaw, D.D.

The Expositor, London, Dec., 1891.

The number opens with the second part of "The Present Position of the Johannine Question," by Rev. Professor W. Sunday, D.D., Oxford, treating of the external evidence, and arriving at the result that it will become increasingly probable that St. John is the author of the book which has come down to us under his name. "Dr. Dale's Theology," by Rev. Professor J. S. Candlish, D.D., is a review of a new volume of discourses by R. W. Dale, LL.D., Birmingham. "Fellowship with Christ," but in the form of an exposition of certain difficult points in the theology of the author. In "The Aramaic Gospel," Rev. Professor J. T. Marshall, M.A., Manchester, gives a very striking instance of duplicate translations from the Aramaic Gospel in the Gospel of Mark, and builds up a most substantial support for his argument by giving a survey of the various circumstances which make the singular phenomenon quite natural. "The Divine Looking-glass," by Rev. Samuel Cox, D.D., is a homily on James i. 22-25, and the article "Upon Philo's Text of the Septuagint," by Frederick C. Conybeare, M.A., gives an idea of the value which can be ascribed to the quotations from the Septuagint found in the works of Philo.

The Review of the Churches, London, Nov. 16th, 1891.

Under the general title "The Progress of the Churches" are given Church of England notes by Archdeacon Farrar: on the Church Congress at Rhyl, the position of the Church in Wales, biblical criticism, clerical poverty, etc.; Presbyterian notes by Dr. Donald Fraser: on the training of ministers, competitive preaching, the labor question in Australia, etc.; Congregational notes by Dr. MacKenna: on the autumnal assembly of the Congregational Union at Southport, the place of women

in churches, Christian unity, etc.; Baptist notes by Dr. Clifford: on the meeting of the Baptist Union at Manchester, the union of Independents and Baptists, the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Mr. Spurgeon and Dr. Pierson; Methodist notes by W. T. Dawson: on the Ecumenical Conference, the conservatism of American Methodism, Methodism and the Church of England, etc. Under the general title of "The Reunion of Christendom," are given articles by Cardinal Manning, Professor A. B. Bruce, and Dr. Martineau, which we reprint in the present number of our magazine. As "The Great Philanthropies II," Archdeacon Farrar gives a luminous and very impressive description of the Regent Street Polytechnic with many illustrations.

The Old and New Testament Student, Hartford, Conn., Dec., 1891.

"A Stage in Paul's Spiritual Development," by Professor Charles H. Small, B.D., Washington, D. C., begins with the thesis: "Paul's conversion was the rather a new stage in his remarkable spiritual development, and not the first stage, and ends with the question": Does conversion to Christianity always coincide with the true conversion of the soul? "A Question of Space," by Rev. William H. Cobb, Newton Centre, Mass., is a commentary on Isa. xiv., and "The Proverbs of the Bible and other Proverbs," by Rev. George S. Goodspeed, Ph.D., Chicago, Ill., points out the similarity and dissimilarity between the former and the latter, characterizing the Scripture Proverbs as an outgrowth not of popular experience, but of literary study. Then follow the third part of "The Bible in English Life and Letters," by Rev. J. G. K. McClure, D.D., Lake Forest, Ill., "Inductive Study of the Founding of the Christian Church," by C. W. Votaw, and "The Gospel of John," by William R. Harper and George S. Goodspeed.

The Young Man, London, Dec., 1891.

The third part of "Off Duty; or, the Religion of our Leisure Hours," by Rev. J. Reid Howatt, author of "Agnostic Fallacies," etc., has the subtitle, Books and Reading. The eleventh instalment of "Leaders in Thought and Action," by W. J. Dawson, gives a very spirited and striking characterization of Mark Guy Pearse. In "The Young Men of India," Mr. David McConaughy, M.A., Secretary of the Indian National Committee of Young Men's Christian Associations, gives an account of the Young Men's Christian Association in India, and in number VI., of "Great Books and their Authors," Mr. W. H. Davenport Adams treats of Tasso and "Jerusalem Delivered."

The Newberry House Magazine, London and Sydney, Dec., 1891.

The opening article, "What Will be the Future of Religious Education in Elementary Schools?" by the Very Rev. Dean of St. Paul's, Robert Gregory, reviews the influence exercised by the Educational Act of 1870 upon the elementary schools of England, and makes inferences with regard to the probable influence of the Free Educational Act of 1891. In "China and its Future" Rev. R. Brooks Egan gives a very interesting account of the present state of affairs in the Celestial Empire, which he, declining to believe that the

monumental fixity of Chinese ways is as true in reality as it is proverbial in Europe, interprets in analogy with what took place in Japan twenty years ago. Somewhat in the same vein runs "Buddhism and Lamaism in Mongolia," by Rev. John Sheepshanks, while "Historical Sketches, VI., The Church and the Great Charta," by Rev. Canon Pennington, is a chapter of general Church history. Besides a proper account of Christmas carols and Christmas stories, the number also contains "Melchizedek, King of Salem," by Rev. A. H. Sayce, LL.D., giving an illustration of the way in which Oriental researches vindicate the historical character of the Old Testament.

Good Words, London, Dec., 1891.

Besides its instalments of fiction the present number contains two interesting and richly illustrated travelling sketches: "A Trip up Snowland" (Iceland), by Sir George H. B. Macleod, M.D., and "The Highest Town in the Highlands" (Taminpool), by Charles Blatherwick; an article by Archdeacon Farrar, D.D., "Epitaphs in Westminster Abbey," which will be found reprinted in the present number of our magazine; and "Heaven Revealed in Us," Sunday readings by Archibald Scott, D.D.

The Missionary Review, New York and London, Dec., 1891.

The report of the foreign mission day at Northfield Convention presents much new and interesting information concerning the progress of missionary work in China and India, and this, together with the article by Rev. John McLaurins, "The Influence of the Pariah Christians of Southern India on the Christianization of the Country," affords a good idea of the immensity, the importance, and the success of the work. Concerning Judaism, Jews, and Palestine the number contains: "The Sacred Land of Palestine," by Mrs. David Baron; "The Evangelization of Israel," by Professor George H. Schodde, Ph.D.; "Some Polemical Writings against the Jews in the first Seven Centuries," by Rev. B. Pick, Ph.D.; "Jerusalem's Crying Wants," by Rabbi A. Ben-Oliel, and "The Jews and Jerusalem," by William E. Blackstone. A letter from Rev. J. G. Patton shows what havoc the Kanaka labor traffic and the foreign whiskey trade play with the work of the missionaries in Australia; sometimes the itinerating services have to be suspended altogether for lack of preachers. The great question is to get those two great evils stopped, and Mr. Patton adds that if America would agree to the restrictions, other nations would too.

The Unitarian Review, Boston and London, Dec., 1891.

"The Heresy of Non-Progressive Orthodoxy," by William M. Bryant starts from the thesis, that a perfect revelation presupposes not only a perfect mind revealing itself, but also a perfect mind to receive that which is revealed. As now the divine revelation can never be perfect for any finite mind, it demands that the normal finite mind shall be progressive, and thus a non-progressive orthodoxy becomes a heresy. "The Day of Reconciliation," by George W. Buckley, Battle Creek, Mich., represents the ever clearer realization of the unity of nature, the unity of man, the unity of a divine personality as the natural outcome of the vast-reaching process of evolution, and harmonizes perfectly with the "History as Development," by

Charles Chauncy Shackford. The number also contains a review of "General Booth's Experiment," by Herbert V. Mills, the author of "Poverty and the State," and a memorial of President Hill.

The Charities Review, New York, Dec., 1891.

Among the several articles of the present number, all on live questions ably discussed, "A Word to Trades Unions" by Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks, Ph.D., Cornell University, tries to make trades unionists see that any limitation of a man's output, by rules which prevent him from working his best during the time that he is employed, not only does not furnish employment for the unemployed, but rather has the opposite effect, while it is also injurious to the workman himself and to industrial society as a whole. "Free Education and Free Food," by Amos G. Warner, Ph.D., Superintendent of Charities, District of Columbia, demonstrates the former as a harmless specific for ignorance and the latter as a dangerous remedy for destitution, and thus establishes a sharp distinction between the underlying principles. "Neighborhood Guilds," by Edward King, is a review of a recent publication of that name by Stanton Coit, Ph.D., Lecturer of the South Place Ethical Society, London, and of the first application of that instrument of social reform which he made some years ago in the city of New York.

The Treasury, New York and London, Dec., 1891.

The present number contains a sermon on the "Co-operation of the Divine and Human in Nature and in Grace," by Rev. Benjamin Bushrod Tyler, D.D., pastor of the Church of the Disciples of Christ, New York City, as also his biography by M. C. Tiers; furthermore, an article on "Dr. Briggs's Biblical Theology," by Professor Robert Watts; and "The City: A Glory and a Menace," by Bishop Cyrus D. Foss, in connection with which should be read "What Theological Students Should Study," by Professor Marcus D. Buell, Boston University School of Theology. It also contains, as usual, "Leading Thoughts of Sermons," "Sunday-School Cause," and under "Questions of the Day": "Have we a Right to Protect the Sabbath by Law?" by A. T. Wolff, D.D., Ph.D., which question is answered in the affirmative.

The Missionary Herald, Boston, Dec., 1891.

To the question, "Do Missions Pay?" Rev. Joseph K. Greene, D.D., of Constantinople, gives an affirmative answer by laying before the reader an account of the history and present state of the evangelical institution at Adabazar in Anatolia. In "The Gods of the Chinese," Rev. Henry P. Perkins, of Lin-Ching, North China, presents us with a picture of what the Chinese mean when they speak of God and how they demean themselves when they wish to enter into some relation with Him, a picture as grossly absurd as horribly degraded. Among the interesting correspondences of the number are letters from Japan, Western and Eastern Turkey, India, and China.

Sunday Magazine, London, Edinburgh, and Dublin, Dec., 1891.

Besides the usual instalments of fiction and some interesting and well illustrated sketches from nature, the present number contains: "The Return of the Magi," by Rev. J. Reid Howatt, and "The

Sign: a Babe," by J. Monro Gibson, M.A., D.D., half poetical and half edificatory in character. "Secrets Worth Knowing," by Rev. A. N. Mackray, M.A., has a somewhat similar character, but being Sunday evenings with the children, an element of instruction is added.

The Homiletic Review, New York and London, Dec., 1891.

Besides its Review Section and Sermonic Section, the present number contains: "Helps and Hints," by Arthur T. Pierson, D.D., an analysis of Eph. v. 18 and of the Lord's Prayer; "Studies in the Psalter," by Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., a commentary of the 22d Psalm; and an "Exegetical Study of 1 Peter iii. 18-22," by Rev. D. F. Bonner, D.D., Florida, N. Y. "The Gap between the Poor and the Churches," by Rev. P. Robertson, Cincinnati, O., points out the causes of the estrangement between the churches and the poorer classes, and indicates the remedies against it. The European Department, conducted by J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D.D., Berlin, Germany, has a very interesting section: "The Deeper Problems," setting forth and explaining the peculiar character which Christian theology has assumed in modern civilization, and another section "Mistakes Respecting the German Army," a plea for the standing army which, though it may not be accepted as sufficient, contains much that should not be overlooked.

The Andover Review, Boston, Dec., 1891.

The opening article, "The Biblical Conditions of Salvation," by William Hayes Ward, D.D., is a study and exposition of the answers which the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures give to the question, What is the Chief End of Man? In "The Halo of Industrial Idleness," Morrison I. Swift, Ravenna, O., disentangles the various fallacies which arise from confounding capital with its owners. In "Three Critics," Professor George R. Carpenter, Institute of Technology, Boston, Mass., gives a sharp, tolerably just, very instructive, and thoroughly delightful characterization of the criticisms of W. D. Howells, George Moore, and Oscar Wilde. The article "A Word in Behalf of Endomism," by Rev. William Forbes Cooley, Short Hills, N. J., is an answer to "The Challenge of Life," by Rev. Chauncey B. Brewster in the September number, and the answer is able and considerate, though, like "The Challenge," hardly able to draw the reader from that standpoint upon which his individual temperament may have fixed him.

Christian Thought, New York, Dec., 1891.

In "The Trend of Philosophy," Rev. J. D. Gold, M.A., Ph.D., traces the tendency of the sceptical side of modern speculation from Locke to Hegel to undermine knowledge and render reality an unknown quantity, and demonstrates how action always meets with a corresponding reaction which keeps up the connection between theology and philosophy. Then follows an exposition of Professor George S. Morris's philosophy, by Professor A. B. Curtis, giving also an outline of his biography. "Ethicless Data," by T. E. Fleming, Ph.D., is a very severe onslaught on Herbert Spencer's "Data of Ethics," in which the author finds the ethical left out. In "The Intuitionism of Locke," Duncan Campbell Lee, Vice-Principal of the Cascadella School, Ithaca, N. Y., vindicates Locke's philosophy against the accusation of being the germ from which sprang

the modern destructive school of philosophy. The number also contains a very learned and instructive article on "Mystical Buddhism," by Sir Monier Williams.

CONTENTS OF JANUARY MAGAZINES.

HARPER'S MAGAZINE for January presents to its readers an unrivalled variety of attractions. It opens with a charming short story, "De Litt' Modder," by William McLennan, written in the quaintly picturesque dialect of the Canadian *kabloon*, and appropriately illustrated by C. S. Reinhart. William Dean Howells contributes an attractive and amusing farce, "A Letter of Introduction," which is accompanied by four attractive pictures drawn by W. T. Smedley. "Personal Recollections of Nathaniel Hawthorne" is the subject of an intensely interesting article by Horatio Bridge, who was Mr. Hawthorne's college classmate and life-long intimate friend. An entertaining story, "A Fourth-class Appointment," fully illustrated by C. D. Gibson, is contributed by Margaret Deland, author of "John Ward, Preacher." In a valuable article entitled "Canada's El Dorado," Julian Ralph gives a comprehensive description of the territory of British Columbia, its present condition and resources and its future possibilities. This article is accompanied by a number of characteristic pictures drawn by Frederic Remington. Following it is a charming poem by Arlo Bates, "The Sorrow of Rohab," beautifully illustrated by J. R. Weguelin. Walter S. Drysdale contributes a graphic and impartial narrative of "Aaron Burr's Conspiracy and Trial," with which is given a full-page portrait of Burr from the painting in possession of the Century Club, New York. The plans, promises, and prospects of "Our Exposition at Chicago," as they appear after a personal visit to the grounds, are clearly set forth and described in another article by Julian Ralph. Wilhelm Singer contributes an entertaining paper on "Popular Life in the Austro-Hungarian Capitals," the interest of which is enhanced by sixteen illustrations drawn by Myrbach. The "Neo-Christian Movement in France" is discussed in a thoughtful article by the Vicomte Eugène Melchior de Vogüé. Walter Besant adds another chapter to his admirable series of London papers, in a remarkably interesting account of the "London of Charles the Second," which is accompanied by numerous appropriate illustrations.

THE CENTURY for January has these contents: Portrait of Charles François Gounod, frontispiece; "The Jews in New York," Richard Wheatley; "Milan Cathedral," Douglas Sieden; "The Naulahka," a story of West and East, III., Rudyard Kipling and Wolcott Balestier; "Andrea Del Sarto" (Italian Old Masters), W. J. Stillman, engravings and note by Timothy Cole; "Custer's Last Battle," by one of his troop commanders, Captain E. L. Godfrey; comments by General James B. Fry; "Gounod in Italy and Germany," Charles François Gounod; "The Jewish Question," Josephus; "The Cloud Maiden," William Wilfred Campbell; "The Alligator Hunter of Louisiana," Andrews Wilkinson; "Witchcraft," J. M. Buckley; "A Parting Guest," Meredith Nicholson; "Characteristics," H. S. Weir Mitchell, M.D.; "Dolce Far Niente," from a painting by Will H. Low; "A Garland," Frank Dempster Sherman; "New Year's Eve," Alice Williams Brotherton; "Bentley's System," Viola Roseboro; "The Discontent of the Farmer," J. R. Dodge; "A Battle in Crackenford," Harry Stillwell Edwards; "Sonnet on the Sonnet," Indigo Deane; "Interludes," Fireflies—A Parable—Art—Transformation—Death Defied, Thomas Bailey Aldrich. Topics of the Time: "The Progressive Discovery of America;" "Alabama's Thousand-Dollar-a-Day Blunder;" "Mississippi's Crop-Moving Currency;" "Attacks upon Public Parks;" "Progress of Ballot Reform," Colorado. Open Letters: "M. Gounod and his Ideals," H. E. Krehbiel; "The Camp Morton Controversy," W. R. Holloway and John A. Wyeth; "Will H. Low," W. Lewis Fraser; "Notes on 'General Miles's Indian Campaigns,'" George L. Spring and G. W. Baird. In Lighter Vein: "Songs of Ireland," Jennie E. T. Dove; "An Old Belle," L. W. Reese; "The Silent Partner," Edith M. Thomas; "Reflections," J. A. Macon; "A Lover's Plaint," Mary Alice De Vere; "The Lost Song," George Horton; "Only a Hint," George Moore.

LIPPINCOTT'S for January has the following contents: "The Passing of Major Kilgore" (told by the city editor), by Young E. Allison; "The Editor-in-Chief," by Colonel A. K. McClure; "Great Pan is Dead," by Henry Peterson; "The Decline of Politeness," by Amelia E. Barr; "My Love and I," by Albert Payson Terhune; "The Triumph of Moelet," by Robert Nelson Stephens; "A Fragment," by Daniel L. Dawson; "With the Gloves—Boxing," by Daniel L. Dawson; "The Young Girl," by Frederic M. Bird; "At Dawn," by John B. Tabb; "The Interpreter," (Sidney Woollett), by Julian Hawthorne; "The Gudewife," by James Whitcomb Riley; "Agnes Huntington," by J. F. R.; "On a Blind Girl," by John Ernest McCann; "Consolation for the Ugly Girls," by Frances Albert Doughty; "The Botts Twins," by P. B. Stansbury; "As it Seems," "A Literary Conversation," by Julian Hawthorne; "A Frenchman in America," by Melville Phillips; "With the Wife" (illustrated by leading artists).

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CHRONICLE.

(Closes on the 30th of each month.)

Nov. 13. The London Baptist Social Union proposes that an international conference of Baptists shall be held in Chicago in 1893.

Nov. 15. The Chamber of Commerce at Glasgow disapproves of the practice of working cargoes on Sundays countenanced by English merchants in foreign ports, some of the Crown colonies, and the Anglo-Indian harbors.

Nov. 17-20. Fourteenth Episcopal Church Congress at Washington, D. C.

Nov. 20. Bishop Selwyn, of Milanesia, informed the Primate of New Zealand that he must resign his see on account of ill-health.

Dec. 13. Rev. Dr. Charles De Witt Bridgman, formerly of the Baptist Church, and Rev. H. O. Ladd, formerly of the Congregational Church, ordained by Bishop Potter, the former as deacon and the latter as priest.

Archbishop Kendrick, of St. Louis, has just celebrated his jubilee as a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church. It is said that no prelate in this country ever had this privilege before. It will be remembered that Dr. Kendrick was one of the two American bishops who voted against the dogma of Papal Infallibility in the Vatican Council.

Dec. 16-17. National Convention of the American Sabbath Union at Des Moines, Iowa.

The Rev. James F. Spalding, of Cambridge, Mass., one of the oldest Episcopal ministers in this country, announces his intention of joining the Roman Catholic as the "only true Church of Christ." He belongs to the High Church school.

The Rev. C. Kinloch Nelson, D.D., of Bethlehem, Pa., who was elected Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Georgia, has signified his acceptance, subject to the canonical conditions. The same Diocese had previously elected Dr. Thomas F. Gailor, of the University of the South, and the Rt. Rev. Ethelbert Talbot, Missionary Bishop of Idaho and Wyoming, but both had declined on the ground of pre-existing duty and obligation.

The Right Rev. John Wareing Bardsley, D.D., at present Bishop of Sodor and Man, has been appointed Bishop of Carlisle, to succeed the Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin, D.D., who died last month.

OBITUARY.

Dodwell, Rev. George B. (Church of England), rector of Wilnot, Nova Scotia; formerly professor of divinity in Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Province of Quebec, died at Halifax, November 2, 1891, aged 58.

King, Ven. Francis (Church of Ireland), D.D. (Trinity College, Dublin, 1879), archdeacon of Dromore, and the oldest priest of the Church of Ireland, died at Newry, Ireland.

Hill, Rev. Thomas (Unitarian), S.T.D. (Harvard, 1869), LL.D. (Yale, 1893), president of Harvard College, 1892-98; pastor at Portland, Me., from 1873 till his death at Waltham, Mass., Nov. 21, 1891, aged 73. He was a Unitarian of the early conservative school. He was very versatile, and loved to have others share his rich stores of scientific knowledge, while

"his pure and elevated character, the simplicity of his habits, and his engaging manners strongly drew to him the love and respect of all who intimately knew him."

Goodwin, Rt. Rev. Harvey (Church of England), D.D. (Cambridge, 1838), lord bishop of Carlisle since 1893, died of heart trouble at Bishopthorpe, the residence of the archbishop of York, Nov. 25, 1891, aged 73. He is said to have been one of the first preachers of "muscular Christianity" and very popular with the workmen, for whose especial benefit his commentaries on Matthew, Mark, and Luke were written (1857, 1860, 1865). He originated the idea of building a Church House as the Church of England's memorial of Queen Victoria's jubilee, and lived to see it finished.

Badley, B. H. (Methodist), D.D., principal of Lucknow Christian College, died at Lucknow, India, death intelligence received by cable in New York. Saturday, Nov. 28. He had been a missionary of rare efficiency since 1872.

Herrick, Rev. James (Congregationalist), missionary in Southern India, under the American Board, for 37 years, died at West Brattleboro, Vt., Nov. 30, 1891, aged 77.

Wadhams, Rt. Rev. Edgar Philip (Roman Catholic), bishop of Ogdensburg, N. Y., Dec. 5, 1891, aged 74. He was graduated at Middlebury College and at the General Theological Seminary, and was till 1846 in the Episcopal Church. In that year he entered the Church of Rome, became in 1866 vicar-general of the diocese of Albany, in 1872 bishop of Ogdensburg.

Galleher, Rt. Rev. John Nicholas (Episcopalian), S.T.D. (Columbia, 1875), bishop of Louisiana, died at New Orleans, Dec. 7, 1891, aged 53. He was in the Confederate army and not ordained priest till 1869. He became rector of Trinity Church in New Orleans, 1868, of the Memorial Church in Baltimore, 1871; of Zion Church in New York, 1873; bishop, 1880.

Browne, Rt. Rev. Edward Harold (Church of England), D.D. (Cambridge, 1864), D.C.L. (Oxford, 1877), lord bishop of Winchester (1873-90), died, Dec. 18, 1891, aged 80. After a distinguished career at Cambridge, both as undergraduate and as fellow and tutor, he became Norrisian professor of divinity there, 1854; bishop, N. Y., 1864; translated to Winchester, 1873. He was chairman of the Old Testament Company of Revisers. As an author he is best known by his "Exposition of the XXXIX. Articles," 1850-53, 2 vols.; 13th ed., 1887, 1 vol., and by his Commentary on Genesis in the "Speaker's Commentary." He took great interest in the Old Catholic movement.

Beardsley, Rev. Eben Edwards, D.D., LL.D. (Episcopalian), rector of St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Conn., died in that city Dec. 22, 1891. He was a graduate of Trinity College; was the author of "The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut from the Settlement of the Colony to the Death of Bishop Brownell in 1865," and "Life and Correspondence of the Rt. Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., First Bishop of Connecticut and of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

Freppel, Rt. Rev. Charles Émile (Roman Catholic), Bishop of Angers, died at Paris, France, Dec. 22, 1891. He was, perhaps, the best-known clerical member of the Chamber of Deputies.

Constantine, Rev. George, D.D., a missionary under the American Board, died in Athens recently, where he was born Jan. 1, 1833. He was educated at Amherst College and Andover Theological Seminary; returned to Athens in 1862 as missionary of the American and Foreign Christian Union, and so remained till 1872, when the Union closed its work in Greece. From 1872 till 1880 he worked independently, supported by American friends. In 1881 he removed to Smyrna, worked under the American Board, and made such an impression that he was persecuted in 1886 by the bigoted city authorities. He was founder and president of the Greek Evangelical Alliance.

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